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CHAPTERS

In the History

OF

OLD S. PAUL'S.

BY

W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.,

MINOR CANON, LIBRARIAN, SUCCENTOR, AND JUNIOR CARDINAL IN S. PAUL'S
CATHEDRAL; ONE OF THE HONORARY LIBRARIANS OF HIS GRACE
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PREFACE.

FOR ſome time paſt my hours of leiſure, which have been only too few and far between, have been devoted to reſearches in the Hiſtory of the Cathedral of S. Paul. I have enjoyed for twenty years the great honour of being a Member of the Cathedral Body and Keeper of its Records, and each ſucceeding year has but increaſed my love for the ſtately Sanctuary and its ſolemn Services, and augmented my intereſt in its venerable Archives. In the preſent volume I have endeavoured to embody in a popular form ſome of the reſults of my ſtudies, in the hope that many who are repelled by Original Documents expreſſed in mediæval Latin, may read theſe deſultory Chapters in the Hiſtory of Old S. Paul's, *and ſhare with me in the abſorbing intereſt which gathers round the ſubject.*

Where I could tell the Story of S. Paul's in the words of ſome old Chronicler, I have always preferred his quaint phraſes to any ſentences of my own: at the ſame time I have freely uſed the documents and other materials gathered together in my previous books upon the Hiſtory of S. Paul's,[*] and I have done ſo with the leſs heſitation becauſe the firſt of theſe was privately printed, and the ſecond was iſſued only to the Members of a learned Society.

I muſt aſk indulgence for the familiar cicerone ſtyle of Chapters IV. and V.: it ſeemed likely to make the ſtroll about the renowned Cathedral

> "*With gliſtening ſpires and pinnacles adorn'd*"[†]

leſs tedious if the Reader and the Author walked arm in arm together.

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[*] *Regiſtrum Statutorum et Conſuetudinum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinenſis*, 4to., London, 1873, privately printed for the Dean and Chapter; and *Documents illuſtrating the Hiſtory of S. Paul's Cathedral*, 4to., London, 1880, iſſued by the Camden Society.

[†] *Paradiſe Loſt*, Book iii. v. 550.

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"But let my due feet never fail
To walk the ſtudious cloyſters pale,
And love the high-embowed roof,
With antick pillars maſſy proof,
And ſtoried windows richly dight,
Caſting a dim religious light:
There let the pealing organ blow,
To the full-voic'd quire below,
In ſervice high and anthems clear,
As may with ſweetneſs, through mine ear,
Diſſolve me into ecſtaſies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

MILTON, *Il Penſeroſo*, 155—166.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF RELIGION IN LONDON.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF RELIGION IN LONDON.

UPON the ſummit of a hill, ſloping gently on its ſouthern ſide to the broad waters of the Thames, and on its weſtern to the rapid ſtream of the Fleet, ſtands, and has ſtood for many centuries, a church dedicated to the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles. When was it firſt founded? Whoſe voice firſt proclaimed the Holy Name of JESUS to the pagan inhabitants of ancient London? Who was the firſt Apoſtle of this, the very heart of England?

The compilers of the Statute Book of S. Paul's Cathedral were not troubled with any doubts about the matter. They reply, with great definiteneſs of language, on this wiſe: "In the year from the Incarnation of the Lord one hundred and eighty-five, at the requeſt of Lucius the King of Greater Britain, which now is called England, there were ſent from Eleutherius the Pope to the aforeſaid King two illuſtrious doctors, Fagnus and Dumanus, who ſhould incline the heart of the King and of his ſubject-people to the unity of the Chriſtian Faith, and ſhould conſecrate to the honour of the one true and ſupreme God the temples which had been dedicated to various and falſe deities."* The Chronicler proceeds to record that theſe holy men, taught by the Spirit of God, founded three metropolitical ſees, and that the firſt of theſe was London.

But, alas, the exact ſtudy of hiſtory remits theſe poſitive ſtatements to the land of fable. "King Lucius and the miſſionaries of his Court have quietly withdrawn into the dim region of Chriſtian mythology."† Almoſt the only relic ſtill ſurviving which throws any light upon the religion of early London is the little Altar of Diana found on the ſite of Goldſmiths' Hall, and ſtill preſerved as the choiceſt ornament of the Court Room of that wealthy Guild. Clouds and miſt hang over the early hiſtory of the Chriſtianiſing of the capital. Auguſt forms float acroſs the haze, but we cannot name them nor diſcern their features.

It muſt be remembered that we are not now conſidering the larger queſtion of the Chriſtianiſing of England, but are limiting ourſelves to that of the evangeliſation of London. If, as Dean Milman ſays, "the converſion of King Lucius is a legend," we muſt not forget that he adds alſo theſe memorable words,

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* *Statuta S. Pauli*, p. 10.

† Dean Milman's *Annals of S. Paul's*, p. 3. See alſo the firſt chapter of Canon Bright's *Chapters on Engliſh Church Hiſtory*.

"There can be no doubt that conquered and half-civiliſed Britain, like the reſt of the Roman Empire, gradually received, during the ſecond and third centuries, the faith of Chriſt. S. Helena, the mother of Conſtantine, probably imbibed the firſt fervour of thoſe Chriſtian feelings which wrought ſo powerfully in the Chriſtianity of her age in her native Britain."* And certainly, at the great Council of Arles, held in the year 314, Reſtitutus, Biſhop of London, appears amongſt the liſt of prelates who were preſent: he was ſucceeded, many years afterwards, by a certain Faſtidius, Biſhop of Britain in 431.

Jocelin of Furneſs, a monk of the twelfth century, has indeed compiled a liſt of fourteen metropolitans of London. But upon this catalogue, Canon Stubbs† obſerves that "it is a moſt uncritical performance;" adding, however, that "the compiler evidently acted in good faith, and put down no more than he found in his authorities."

Of the lateſt of theſe prelates, Geoffrey the Chronicler relates that when the Saxons drove the Britiſh fugitives into Wales and Cornwall, Theon, Biſhop of London, and Thadioc, of York, fled into Wales with the Archbiſhop of Caerleon and their ſurviving clergy.‡ The traditional date of this flight is 586.

With the cloſe of the ſixth century we reach the æra, memorable for ever in the hiſtory of our country, the æra of the great revival of religion wrought by the band of Chriſtian miſſionaries headed by the Apoſtle of England.

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* *Latin Chriſtianity*, ii. 226.

† Canon Stubbs' *Regiſtrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 152, where the catalogue may be ſeen.

‡ Canon Bright, p. 33, citing Geoffrey, viii. 2.

Soon after Eaſter, 597, Auguſtine and his companions croſſed the Channel. They landed at Ebbsfleet, near the grand Roman caſtle at Richborough, which crowns a ſlight eminence between Sandwich and Pegwell Bay. The little army of forty men advanced, bearing a ſilver croſs and a painted panel upon which was depicted the Crucified Jeſus.* Ethelbert, the ſincere and noble-hearted King, receives them generouſly and hoſpitably; he finds that he has entertained angels unawares; he obtains a rich reward, for he is converted; and on Whitſun Eve, according to the Canterbury tradition, he is baptiſed. In due time he becomes the founder of the Cathedral Church of S. Paul. The Manor of Tillingham, one of thoſe with which the royal bounty enriched the church, ſtill remains in the poſſeſſion of the Dean and Chapter. S. Gregory had deſired that London ſhould beome an archiepiſcopal ſee, Auguſtine thought otherwiſe, and reſerved the primatial dignity for Canterbury. In the year 604, ſays Ralph de Diceto, the hiſtorian and Dean of S. Paul's,† "Ethelbert the King built the Church of S. Paul, London," and he goes on to record that Auguſtine himſelf conſecrated Mellitus as Biſhop of the ſee.

And where in ancient London did Mellitus call together the aſſembly of the faithful? Did he find a heathen ſanctuary where S. Paul's now ſtands, ſurrounded with umbrageous trees; and did he, in the ſhadowing wood, find a meet ſhrine for God's true worſhip?

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* See Bright, pp. 45, 50, and Dean Stanley's admirable eſſay in his *Hiſtorical Memorials of Canterbury.*

† Whoſe *Hiſtorical Works* have recently been edited by Profeſſor Stubbs.

"The groves were God's firſt temples. Ere man learned
To hew the ſhaft, and lay the architrave,
And ſpread the roof above them—ere he framed
The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
The ſound of anthems; in the darkling wood,
Amidſt the cool and ſilence, he knelt down,
And offered to the Mightieſt ſolemn thanks
And ſupplication. For his ſimple heart
Might not reſiſt the ſacred influences
Which, from the ſtilly twilight of the place,
And from the gray old trunks that high in heaven
Mingled their moſſy boughs, and from the ſound
Of the inviſible breath that ſwayed at once
All their green tops, ſtole over him, and bowed
His ſpirit with the thought of boundleſs power
And inacceſſible majeſty."*

"The firſt cathedral of this ſee," ſays Maitland, "was built in the pretorian camp of the Romans, and destroyed under Diocletian." There are many examples in England of churches ſtanding in the midſt of ancient earthworks. "This cathedral," he continues, "was rebuilt under Conſtantine, and again deſtroyed by the Saxons in their times of Paganiſm; after which it was reſtored by Ethelbert."

No records remain which can give us any certain information as to the earlieſt ſanctuary which crowned the Pauline Hill. Perhaps it was but a very ſimple ſtructure of rough trees, hardly ſhaped by the axe, like that ſtrange method of conſtruction of which an example ſtill remains at Greenſtead, near Epping. The woods and foreſts near to London would have ſupplied abundant material for ſuch a purpoſe. Perhaps it was a humble chapel built of ſtone, ſcarcely more elaborate than the rude cells at Ripon and at Hexham. No tradition, however, remains, which can ſupply us with a ſketch of the earlieſt fabric.

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* W. C. Bryant, *A Foreſt Hymn.*

We do not even know the form and extent of Ethelbert's Cathedral. Bede, and Ralph de Diceto* following him, confine themſelves to the feweſt poſſible words: "Ethelbert the King built the Church of S. Paul in London." Dean Milman† applies to it a ſingle epithet: it was "magnificent." Profeſſor Owen built up the *Dinornis* from a ſingle bone, but the moſt ſkilful architect could ſcarcely reconſtruct Ethelbert's Cathedral from a ſingle epithet. Nor would it help him much were we to add another brief ſtatement, that Biſhop Erkenwald, of whom more will be ſaid preſently, "beſtowed great coſt on the fabric thereof."‡

Fire, always the bitter foe of S. Paul's, would not ſpare the work of the royal founder; for in 961, the *Saxon Chronicle* relates, "The monaſtery of S. Paul's was burnt, and in the ſame year reſtored."§ And again, in 1087 or 1088, for the authorities are not agreed, the City of London and its cathedral were both conſumed by the flames. The *Chroniculi S. Pauli** ſay that the great conflagration happened on the ſeventh day of July in the year 1087.

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* *Hiſtorical Works*, i. 107.

† Milman, *Annals of S. Paul's*, p. 9.

‡ Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, p. 3.

§ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 2.

But although little or nothing is known as to the form and extent of the primitive ſanctuary of the firſt Chriſtian inhabitants of London, and although the later church of the generous Ethelbert has found no accurate and minute hiſtorian, Mellitus, the firſt biſhop of London after the arrival of S. Auguſtine, ſtands out as a very real perſon, and as one who made his mark upon the hiſtory of the church. He appears conſpicuouſly upon the broad canvas of the venerable Bede.

Mellitus was conſecrated by Auguſtine himſelf in the year 604, and filled ſucceſſively the ſees of London and of Canterbury. He ſeems to have arrived in England about the cloſe of the year 601.† Few letters of the period are more intereſting than that which Gregory wrote to Mellitus to inſtruct him in his dealing with the Chriſtian converts.‡ They were to be dealt with very tenderly. Heathen temples were not neceſſarily to be deſtroyed; they might be purged and hallowed for the true worſhip. "You cannot cut off everything at once from rough natures. He who would climb to a height muſt aſcend ſtep by ſtep; he cannot jump the whole way." Outward enjoyments, and even feaſts kept within due bounds, were by no means to be difcouraged. Humble country folk were not to be deprived of their ſimple pleaſures, but rather taught to uſe them moderately. The letter teems with good ſenſe, and with abundant evidences of a kind and liberal heart.

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* Printed in *Documents*, etc., p. 58.

† This hiſtory is excellently told in Bright's *Early Engliſh Church Hiſtory*, pp. 70 *et seq.*

‡ Bede, Book i. § 31.

Mellitus had converted King Sigebert I., or Sabert, who was Ethelbert's nephew, and Sabert took part with Ethelbert in the erection of S. Paul's. Some ſay that a Temple of Diana had once ſtood upon the ſummit of the hill: but the ſtory is doubtful, and the evidence brought forward as to the bones of deer and cattle found in deep excavations here, and as to a building called *Camera Dianæ* or *Diana's Chamber* at no great diſtance, does not really throw light upon the queſtion.

The good Biſhop Mellitus did not always baſk in the ſunſhine of royal favour; for in due time, one-and-twenty years after his converſion, the noble Ethelbert died,* and was buried in S. Martin's porch within the Church of the Bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul, beſide the body of Bertha his Queen. Eadbald, his ſon, did not walk in his father's ſteps; he refuſed to embrace the faith of Chriſt, and Bede goes ſo far as to ſay that there were times when he gave way to fits of madneſs, and was oppreſſed with an unclean ſpirit. Sabert alſo died, and left his three ſons, ſtill pagans, to inherit his throne. They had ſomewhat diſſembled during their father's life-time, and kept their attachment to heatheniſm in the background; but now, left to themſelves, they openly profeſſed idolatry, and encouraged the people to ſerve idols. Bede tells us a characteriſtic ſtory:* One day theſe impious ſons of a godly father came to S. Paul's Church during the celebration of the Holy Euchariſt. They ſaw the Biſhop giving the Sacrament to the aſſembled people. "Puffed up with their barbarous folly, they ſaid to him, 'Why do you not give to us alſo that white bread, as you uſed to do to our father Saba' (for ſo they were accuſtomed to call him), 'and as you ſtill give it to the people in the church.' To whom the Biſhop anſwered, 'If ye will be waſhed in that life-giving fount in which your father was waſhed, then ye may become partakers of that holy bread of which he was wont to be a partaker. But if ye deſpiſe the laver of life, ye are by no means able to receive the bread of life.' 'But,' ſaid they, 'we will not enter that fount, for we do not know that we have need of it, but nevertheleſs we wiſh to be refreſhed with that bread.' And when oftentimes and diligently they were admoniſhed by him that no one might by any means partake of the moſt holy Oblation without the moſt holy purging [of baptiſm], they were moved to fury and ſaid, 'If you will not conſent to us in this ſo ſmall a matter which we deſire, you ſhall not remain in our province.' And accordingly they compelled him and his followers to depart from their kingdom." Mellitus being driven away from London, took counſel with his fellow-biſhops Laurentius and Juſtus as to the courſe which ſhould be adopted in this emergency. They decided that, for a time at leaſt, "until this tyranny was overpaſt," it would be wiſe to withdraw from England. Mellitus and Juſtus retreated to France. But Bede is careful to relate that the wicked kings did not go unpuniſhed, for marching out to battle againſt the nation of the Weſt Saxons they were all ſlain and their army routed. The people, however, had relapſed into idolatry, and for forty years London was again plunged into heathen darkneſs.

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* Bede, ii. 5.

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* Bede, ii. 5.

Mellitus is ſent for, and returns: but the people of London would not receive him, nor could King Eadbald reſtore to him his church. Idolatry was once more triumphant.

On the 2nd of February, 619, Archbiſhop Laurence died, and Mellitus ſucceeded him in the Archiepiſcopal throne of Canterbury. And here we ought to leave him, as he no longer ruled over the See of London. A brief ſpace, however, muſt be devoted to the concluding chapter of his life, in which, once more, we will follow the guidance of the Venerable Bede.* Mellitus laboured under a phyſical infirmity; in fact, he was afflicted with the gout: but though his malady ſorely hindered his bodily activity, "his mind, with vigorous ſteps, joyful leapt over worldly things, and flew to love, to ſeek celeſtial things." There was a terrible conflagration in Canterbury; the whole city was in danger of being conſumed by fire; water was thrown upon the flames, but all in vain; they continued to ſpread with terrific power; the Church of the Four Crowned Martyrs, martyrs who had fallen in the perſecution of Diocletian, ſtood in the place where the fire raged moſt fiercely: thither the Prelate, though weighed down by his infirmities and the pains of ſickneſs, bade his ſervants to carry him. Strong men had laboured to no purpoſe, to put out the flames—he would ſhow them the efficacy of prayer. He prayed fervently, and the wind which had been blowing from the ſouth now turned to the north; the flames were beaten back, and preſently, the wind ceaſing altogether, were entirely extinguiſhed, and the city was ſaved.

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* Bede, Book ii. 7.

This is the laſt recorded act of Mellitus. He ruled over the Church of Canterbury for five years, and departed to his reſt on the 24th day of April, 624: a day long obſerved with honour in the Church of London, as may be ſeen in its ancient Calendar.

Foremoſt amongſt the early Biſhops of London, and towering above them both in hiſtory and legend, ſtands the ſainted Prelate Erkenwald. Mellitus had been gathered to his fathers; Cedda, brother of S. Chad of Lichfield, had ſucceeded him; he, in his turn, had been followed by Wina. Fourth in ſucceſſion,* Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, conſecrated S. Erkenwald. He is ſaid to have been of royal deſcent, his father, Offa, being King of Eaſt England. When but a boy he had heard Mellitus preach in London, and, if the words of the *Golden Legend* are to be taken literally, had even liſtened to the preaching of S. Auguſtine himſelf. Before he was raiſed to the epiſcopate, he had founded two famous monaſteries: one for himſelf, at Chertſey in Surrey; the other for his ſiſter Ethelburga, at Barking in Eſſex.

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* The dates of conſecration are: Mellitus, 604; Cedda, 654; Wina, 662; Erkenwald, 675. Canon Stubbs' *Regiſtrum Sacrum.*

Chertſey became one of the mitred abbeys, but its abbots, though regarded as ſpiritual barons, did not ſit in Parliament. The Regiſter of the Abbey is ſtill preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, and contains a charter of privileges granted by Pope Agatho, which was brought from Rome by Erkenwald himſelf. During the Daniſh wars in the latter part of the ninth century, the abbot, Beocca, a prieſt named Ethor, and ninety monks were ſlain, the church and monaſtery burnt, and the ſurrounding poſſeſſions laid waſte. It was reſtored by Ethelwald, Biſhop of Wincheſter. Many pages of Dugdale's *Monaſticon** are filled with a record of the abbots of the houſe and with its charters. It ſhared the fate of other religious houſes, was diſſolved (at that time its groſs rental was valued at £744 18s. 6¾d.), and its ſite was granted to Sir William FitzWilliam.

In 1673, when Aubrey wrote, ſcarcely any of the old buildings of Chertſey Abbey remained. A few walls only were to be ſeen, and the ſtreets of the town, he ſays, were raiſed by the ruins of the abbey. Even the Abbey Houſe, erected with part of its materials, has been demoliſhed. The walls of a large barn, an arched gateway, and a wall nearly oppoſite to it, are figured in the new edition of Brayley's *Surrey* (edited by Mr. Edward Walford), and in Mr. and Mrs.

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* *Monaſticon*, i. 422-435.

S. C. Hall's *Book of the Thames* as "The Remains of Chertſey Abbey ;" and theſe authorities add that the graveyard is now a rich garden, and that the old fiſh-ponds, once ſo important an appendage to a religious houſe, are even now not without water. In Stukeley's time, among the garden-ſtuff one might "pick up handfuls of bits of bone at a time"—bones of abbots, great perſonages and monks, buried in numbers in the once famous church and cloiſters of Chertſey.

Parts of the foundations of the old abbey church, which was about 270 feet in length, are yet to be ſeen, and there is a ſmall fragment of pavement ſtill *in ſitu.* The teſſelated pavements of Chertſey were of rare beauty, repreſenting ſcenes in the life of Richard Cœur de Lion, paſſages in the Story of Sir Triſtram, the zodiacal ſigns, and the ſeaſons or months. Portions of theſe are ſtill preſerved in private poſſeſſion.

A ſmall relic from its treaſury alſo remains, for the Britiſh Muſeum contains an example of an offertory-diſh of Northern manufacture, once belonging to the abbey, and dug up in its ruins at the beginning of this century. This veſſel is a flat circular diſh of nearly pure copper, with a very wide rim, bearing an inſcription, which Mr. J. M. Kemble has rendered, "Offer, ſinner." A diſcuſſion as to the exact age of the alms-diſh is epitomiſed in the *Dictionary of Chriſtian Antiquities* (Art., Offertory Plates). The dates aſſigned to it vary from the ninth to the eleventh century.

Barking Monaſtery* is ſaid by ſome writers to have been the earlieſt and the richeſt nunnery in England, but it can hardly maintain its claim to either of theſe deſignations, as Folkeſtone Nunnery was founded many years before it, and Shafteſbury and Sion were both wealthier. "It was a double foundation, like Whitby and others, having a ſeparate area for the monks apart from the nuns' building, and even a ſeparate chapel or oratory for each order."[*] The habit of the ſiſters, that of the Benedictines generally, is ſhown in a plate in Dugdale;[†] Lyſons engraves the ſeal of the monaſtery and the ground-plan of the church. The nunnery was diſſolved in 1539, and the ſite with its buildings was granted by Edward VI. to Edward Lord Clinton. A mutilated ſlab at the eaſt end of the north aiſle of Barking Church commemorating the names of Ælfgiva, abbeſs in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, and of Maurice, Biſhop of London, was ſtill extant in 1809, when an etching of it was publiſhed. It cannot now be diſcovered.[‡] An ancient gateway, forming the principal entrance to the churchyard, ſtill remains as a relic of the departed grandeur of this once ſtately abbey. The chamber over the gateway was the Chapel of the Holy Rood: a very intereſting carving repreſenting the Rood ſtill, though it is much defaced, adorns the eaſtern wall of the chapel, on the north ſide of the ſite of the altar. Some recent excavations in the garden of the adjacent ſchool-houſe* have brought to light the foundations of the Lady Chapel of the ancient church. The graves of two abbeſſes have been diſcovered, together with ſome fragments of carved ſtone (retaining traces of the original colouring), which may probably have formed part of a ſhrine of S. Erkenwald once adorning the ſanctuary.

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* Dugdale, *Monaſticon*, i. 436-446.

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[*] Canon Bright, p. 257.

[†] *Monaſticon*, i. 443.

[‡] I have ſearched carefully for it in the church, and have made many enquiries at Barking. Archdeacon Blomfield has moſt kindly joined in the ſearch; but, as yet, without ſucceſs.

Not far from Barking, at Ilford, was a lepers' hoſpital governed by the ſociety at Barking. A certain Mr. Agard gives a ſomewhat remarkable account of the mode of expulſion from this hoſpital. "It was my happe," he ſays, "to ſee once an abſtracte out of the lygyar-book of Barking Nonnery, in Eſſex, in a gentleman's hande, now dead, and who ſhewed me, that the abbeſſe beinge accompanyed with the Buſhop of London, the Abbot of Stratford, the Deane of Paule's, and other great spyrytuall perſonnes, went to Ilforde to viſit the hoſpytall theere founded for leepers . . . The manner of his diſgradinge was thus, as I remember: he came attyred in his lyvery, but barefooted and bareheaded, *tenâ depoſitâ*, that is, without a nightcap, and was ſet on his knees uppon the ſtayres, benethe the altar, where he remained during all the time of maſs. When maſs was ended, the prieſte diſgraded him of orders, ſcraped his hands and his crown with a knife, took his booke from him, gave him a boxe on the chiek with the end of his fingers, and then thruſt him out of the churche, where the officers

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[*] Mr. King, the ſchoolmaſter of Barking, has taken a moſt intelligent intereſt in theſe excavations, great part of which he has made with his own hands.

and people receyved him, and putt him into a carte, cryinge *Ha rou! Ha rou! Ha rou!* after him."*

There is a letter extant† addreſſed by Sir Thomas Audley (afterwards Baron Audley of Walden in Eſſex, Lord Chancellor of England), to Secretary Cromwell, begging him to defer the viſitation of Barking till they ſhould meet and talk the matter over; "truſting," Sir Thomas ſays, that "for my ſake, and at my contemplation, ye will uſe the more favour to the houſe."

Sir Henry Spelman, in his *Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege*,‡ is careful to ſhow that it fared ill with the early intruders into the Abbey lands. He ſays that the property of Barking abbey, after the Diſſolution, had no leſs than ſix ſucceſſive poſſeſſors, belonging to four different families, in the ſhort ſpace of seventy-eight years, and that the barony of Edward Lord Clinton became extinct in the direct male line in 1692; and further, that when the abeyance of the barony was determined in favour of Hugh Forteſcue, Eſq., he died without iſſue. Nor were the intruded owners of Chertſey more fortunate.

Dugdale prints a curious document which throws ſome light upon the dietary of the convent. On "Seynt Alburgh's daye," the Cellareſſe of the House "muſt purvey for a pece of whete and iij gallons milke for frimete," that is for Frumenty, a dainty diſh which Halliwell ſays was made of hulled wheat boiled in milk, and ſeaſoned with cinnamon and ſugar. At Shrovetide my lady Abbeſs was to be ſupplied with "viij chekenes," and the convent was regaled with "bonnes" and "crum-cakes," that is pancakes. Some other little delicacies were provided at divers ſeaſons, ſuch as a "hoole hogg ſowſe" which "do ſerve four ladyes." Leſt this diſh over-exerciſe the reader's ingenuity, let him be told that a *ſouce* conſiſts of the head, feet, and ears of ſwine boiled and pickled for eating; a toothſome meal it may be ſuppoſed, according to the taſte of thoſe days.

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* Thomas Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Diſcourſes on Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 249, 250: edit. 1771.

† *Letters relating to the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries*, No. 32.

‡ Edition 1853, pp. 67, 319, 324, and pp. 265, 297.

It was in Biſhop Erkenwald's houſe in London that Archbiſhop Theodore was reconciled to Biſhop Wilfrid, after their long eſtrangement. From this meeting may be dated the long ſeries of negotiations which ended in Wilfrid's reſtoration to his cathedral church and to his minſter.*

The ſaintly Erkenwald held the See of London from the year 675 to 693. He was canoniſed in due courſe. A cloud of legends ſurround him. Holy days were ſet apart in his honour; ſpecial religious offices were compiled to commemorate him;† prayers were ſaid and hymns were ſung at his ſhrine;‡ and thither flowed large crowds of pilgrims from all parts of the Dioceſe, and, indeed, from yet more diſtant places, to kneel before the bones of the ſainted prelate.

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* Canon Bright, p. 351.

† I have printed ſome of theſe Offices in my *Documents illuſtrating the Hiſtory of S. Paul's Cathedral.*

‡ See *infra*, Chapter V.

The day of his death, April 30, and the day of his tranſlation, November 14, were long obſerved as feſtival days in his own Cathedral of S. Paul.

Thoſe who are curious in legendary lore will find the ſtory of S. Erkenwald well told in Caxton's *Golden Legend.** The cloſing ſcene of his life—

> "Laſt ſcene of all,
> That ends this ſtrange eventful hiſtory"—

may beſt be related in verſe.†

THE DEATH OF ERKENWALD.

And Erkenwald lay dying in his cell :
Afar the ſilver Thames, miſt-robed and ſtill,
Huſhed into ſilence at his paſſing hour,
Stole on through emerald reaches toward the ſea.
The waning Day moved by, and as he moved
Drew his dark cloak around, yet, ere he fled,
Turned one bright glance from out his golden eye
To that ſtill cloiſter-cell, and pauſed awhile
And lit thoſe noble features which in eve
Lay with a faintly glory moſt divine ;
Thoſe heavenward eyes, inſtinct of deepeſt love,
Were eloquent with prayer, and while the light
Grew brighter ere it faded, lo ! he ſlept.

Then, ſtealing through the air in that deep huſh
Came roſeal perfume, ſoft as laden breezes
Pour out the golden gates of Paradiſe :
And long it lingered where the faint lay dead :
It ſeemed like the rich odour of good deeds
Wafted upon the mighty wings of Time.

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* Reprinted in my *Documents*, pp. 186-190.

† The lines are by my ſon, W. J. Sparrow Simpſon, Trinity College, Cambridge.

But deep gloom hung around the capital,
And chiefly through the arching nave of Paul ;
Then one ſaid weeping, "Erkenwald is dead ;"
And man to man remurmured, "He is dead ;"
And earth and air throbbed ſighing, "He is dead."
Wherefore the prieſts came forth from nave and aiſle,
Came forth enrobed to bear the body thence,
Frail habitation that did erſt contain
The priceleſs jewel of a ſaintly ſoul :
So, through the years, to lie in holy ſoil
Enſhrined amid a nation's reverence.

But Chertſey alſo claimed him for their own :
Then while they marked the long proceſſion wind
Beſide the rolling Lee, to bear away
That vacant temple of a ſaintly ſoul,
The monks wept bitter tears and ſmote the gates
Of heaven with piteous prayer and lamentation,
Beſeeching he might ever reſt with them,
Praiſed by their ſong and bleſſing all their need.
So they implored beſide the rolling Lee.
And lo ! the ſtream grew ſtrong and terrible,
And whirled and ſwelled in eddying fitfulneſs,
And black ſtorms hung about the arching ſky,
The torrent waters, and dark foreſts deep.

And awful hands of might inviſible
And wings of power ſeemed ever circling round :
Then ſtood the prieſts confounded, all the air
Seemed fraught with vivid energy and life,
And inſtinct with ineffable Deity,
Moſt dread and wonderful : and thence divining
The everlaſting arm of Majeſty
O'erſhadowing all, they ceaſed in trembling fear.

Then roſe to God a mournful Litany
Upraiſed of prieſtly voices—grand and wild,
A De Profundis out of ſorrowing hearts.
And lo ! the tempeſt ſtayed, and wave on wave

Foamed backward and uproſe on either hand :
Then joyouſly the prieſts ariſing moved
And bore through floodleſs ſpace their burden on
To ſleep beneath the noble towers of Paul.

So there did they conſign to wakeleſs reſt
Their well-beloved, their maſter Erkenwald,
Their God-ſent light, their friend Saint Erkenwald,
And builded him anon a worthy ſhrine,
Where lamps might burn for ever, and adorned it
With coſtlieſt gifts and nobleſt offerings.
And lowly thouſands ofttimes knelt before it,
Beſeeching him to bear their fervent prayers
Beyond the ſtars of God, where ſeraphim
Bow down their radiant faces and adore.

And thus they chanted in the voice of prayer :

"O golden Lamp of Chriſt, O Erkenwald,
Give prayer for us before the awful Throne,
Until we join with thee the joyous throng
In Heaven's high courts and ſtarry palaces :
Where with the ſong of ſeraphs may we ſing
In jubilant praiſe to Chriſt the Eternal King !
Alleluia."*

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* The laſt ſix lines are a tranſlation of the *ſequence* in the Office of S. Erkenwald, printed in my *Documents*, etc., p. 23.

THE PERSONAL STAFF OF THE CATHEDRAL IN 1450.

CHAPTER II.

THE PERSONAL STAFF OF THE CATHEDRAL IN 1450.

THE Statutes of the Cathedral, which were printed a few years ago, enable us to obtain a clear view of the inner conſtitution and government of this grand foundation. Let us take our ſtand at about the year 1450, the period at which Dean Liſieux compiled an important collection of ſtatutes, many of which, however, had been gathered together by Dean Ralph de Baldock before the year 1305, and ſome of which belong to a period far antecedent even to this.

In 1450, then, the Cathedral body conſiſted of the following perſons: The Biſhop, the Dean, the four Archdeacons, the Treaſurer, the Precentor, and the Chancellor. To theſe we muſt add a body of thirty Greater Canons, twelve Leſſer Canons, a conſiderable number of Chaplains, and thirty Vicars. A few words may be ſaid of theſe ſeveral perſons or claſſes of perſons. The Subdean, Sacriſt, Succentor, and many other officials, chiefly taken from the ranks of ſome of the ſeparate bodies already enumerated, will alſo require independent notice. Whoever will take the pains to remember the diſtribution of rank and office here ſet forth will have a fairly accurate view of the inner organiſation of a Cathedral of the Old Foundation.

It may be well to ſay in paſſing that the Cathedrals of the Old Foundation in England are nine in number. Theſe are Chicheſter, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Saliſbury, Wells,* and York. There are eight Cathedrals of what is called the New Foundation, and theſe are Canterbury, Carliſle, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rocheſter, Wincheſter, and Worceſter. Five Cathedrals were founded by Henry VIII., namely, Briſtol, Cheſter, Glouceſter, Oxford, and Peterborough. Two Cathedrals, Mancheſter and Ripon, were tranſformed from Collegiate into Cathedral Churches in 1847 and 1836 reſpectively; whilſt the Sees of Truro and of Liverpool are of ſtill more recent foundation.

The churches of the Old Foundation were churches of *Secular* Canons, the churches of the New Foundation were churches of *Regular* Canons. The Regular or Conventual churches were occupied by a religious community living under a certain rule (*regula*), generally the Benedictine Rule, though at Carliſle there were Canons of the Rule of S. Auguſtine. Of theſe churches the Abbot was the head, as in the churches of the Old Foundation the Dean preſided over the Chapter. The Welſh Cathedrals were of the Old Foundation.

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* The student of Cathedral Hiſtory ſhould read Mr. Freeman's admirable book on Wells Cathedral: a book whoſe value is not to be meaſured by its ſize.

At S. Paul's, then, the BISHOP held the moſt honourable place. The ſtatutes ſupply very minute directions as to the manner in which he was to be received on the occaſion of his firſt viſit to the church after his conſecration. It was the duty of the Dean, accompanied by the whole choir, wearing ſilken copes, to meet the Prelate at the weſtern door and to lead him in proceſſion to the high altar, the bells being rung and a ſuitable office ſaid. On the occaſion of ordinary viſits the bells were to be rung, but there was to be no proceſſion. It was the Biſhop's duty to be preſent in the Cathedral on the greater feaſts, on Chriſtmas Day, Eaſter Day, Aſcenſion Day, Whitſunday, the Feſtivals of S. Paul and of S. Erkenwald, and alſo on Maundy Thurſday and Aſh Wedneſday. On theſe greater Feaſts the Biſhop ſaid Maſs, the Dean and the *Sublimior Perſona* aſſiſting, if they were preſent; in their abſence, two of the Greater Perſons (*Majores Perſonæ*) attended in their ſtead. Theſe *Greater Perſons* were the Archdeacons, the Treaſurer, Precentor, and Chancellor. When the Biſhop ſat in his own ſtall or in that of the Dean, the Dean himſelf and all other members of the church reverently bowed to the Prelate as they entered the choir. The Chancellor held before him with his own hands the book from which the chapter was to be read. In his gift were all the Prebendal Stalls, as indeed they ſtill are, and the greater dignities except the Deanery. The

Epiſcopal Palace ſtood cloſe to the Cathedral, at the weſtern end of it, on the northern ſide.

The DEAN was next in office to the Biſhop. When a vacancy occurred in the Deanery, the Chapter met together, and elected one of their own number to fill the vacancy; and, if there were no canonical impediment, the Biſhop confirmed their appointment. At his inſtallation, he was received at the weſtern door with the ſame honours as thoſe accorded to the Biſhop himſelf. The Dean's authority was very great. He inveſted the prebendaries, and he corrected all offenders of higher rank; thoſe of the lower grade he remitted for correction to the Chancellor. On the greater feaſts he intoned the ſolemn antiphons. Benefices were to be conferred by the Dean and Chapter jointly: but in caſes where there were urgent reaſons why a benefice ſhould be at once conferred, leſt the King or ſome other powerful perſon ſhould aſk that it might be beſtowed upon a nominee of his own, then the Reſidentiaries, with the Dean, or even, in the Dean's abſence, the Reſidentiaries alone, were competent to fill the vacancy. A weekly Saturday Chapter was held, at which the ſhortcomings of the week were reported and corrected: this excellent cuſtom has been recently reſtored. Once in three years the Dean made a viſitation of the Manors of the Chapter, and of the Houſes of the Canons in the City of London, carefully reporting their condition to the Chapter on his return, and eſtimating the outlay required for repairs and dilapidations. The Manors belonging to the Dean were, in like manner, visited triennially by two of the Canons, appointed by the Chapter for that purpoſe. During vacancies of the See of London the Dean and Chapter became guardians of the temporalities of the Biſhopric. Unleſs the Dean were alſo a Prebendary, he had no ſhare in the Obits, nor in the Pittances, nor in the Common Fund.

In the Dean's abſence the SUBDEAN (then, as now, always one of the Minor Canons) fulfilled his duties in Choir, and exerciſed ſuch diſcipline as belonged in right to the Dean over the Minor Canons, Chaplains, Vicars, and other miniſters ; but he did not occupy the Dean's ſtall. For his labours he received daily, beſide his emoluments as a Minor Canon, a loaf of white bread ſuch as was diſtributed to the Canons, and a gallon of ale of a better quality than that which was ſupplied to the inferior clergy. The Church of S. Giles, Cripplegate, was alſo granted to him in 1295.

Next in dignity to the Dean were the four ARCHDEACONS, London, Eſſex, Middleſex, and Colcheſter, who took precedence in the order in which their names have been enumerated. The Dean, of courſe, occupied the firſt ſtall on the ſouth ſide at the entrance of the choir ; the Archdeacon of London ſat in the firſt ſtall on the north ſide. The Archdeacon of St. Alban's was added to the number in the time of Henry VIII., but he had no ſtall nor place in the Chapter.

To the TREASURER belonged the cuſtody of all the goods of the church, such as the relics, books, ſacred veſſels, veſtments, altar-cloths, hangings, and the like. Twenty-ſix folio pages, each page with two columns and a very moderate-sized type, in Dugdale's *Hiſtory* *of S. Paul's*, are filled with an inventory of theſe precious things, taken in the year 1295. They were certainly of very great value. Rich ſtores of veſtments are there—copes, chaſubles, tunics, dalmatics; altar-plate in great abundance, croſſes, chalices, patens; proceſſional croſſes, reliquaries, cenſers. Still more precious than all theſe, great numbers of manuſcripts, early Texts of the Goſpels; service-books of all kinds, miſſals, antiphonals, manuals, legends; hiſtorical books, and chronicles: all lost, alas! with very few exceptions. The maker of the inventory gives us occaſional glimpſes of the illuminated pages, and tells us in a few pregnant words of the gorgeous binding, in gold and ſilver, enamel and precious ſtones.

The care of all theſe treaſures would, of courſe, be far too onerous for one man; the Treaſurer, therefore, appointed the SACRIST as his deputy, and, under the Sacriſt, three VERGERS. The Sacriſt's duties were very multifarious. He muſt ſee that the elements for the Euchariſt were duly ſupplied; that the linen and veſtments required in the Divine Offices were pure, ſound and clean; that they were replaced, without injury, when ſervice was ended; that the ſervice-books were well bound, with competent claſps; that no one practiſed ſinging in the veſtibule; that the doors of the veſtibule were opened at the firſt bell at matins, ſo that the rulers of the choir might enter in due time. In ſhort, his duties were ſo numerous, that they may be more "eaſily imagined than deſcribed."

The PRECENTOR was the director of the muſic of the Cathedral; and he, too, had his deputy, the SUC-

CENTOR, whom he appointed. He alſo nominated the MASTER of the Singing School.

The CHANCELLOR, or *Magiſter Scholarum*, was the perſon from whom the schoolmaſters of the metropolis received their licence to teach. He compoſed the letters and deeds of the Chapter, and whatever was read aloud in Chapter was read by him. The ſeal was in his cuſtody, and for ſealing any deed he received one pound of pepper as his fee.* He appointed the MASTER of the Grammar School of the Cathedral, and repaired the houſe belonging to the ſchool at his own charges. He prepared the Table in which were ſet down the names of the Prieſt, Deacon, and Subdeacon, who were to aſſiſt at High Maſs, and, in general, he drew up what we ſhould now call the Rota of duty. The puniſhment of Clerks of the lower grade was committed to him.

The CANONS or Prebendaries were thirty in number, and, with the Biſhop at their head, conſtituted the Chapter. The Canons elected both the Biſhop and the Dean. Each Canon had an endowment or *corps* attached to his ſtall ; the names of the manors forming theſe endowments may ſtill be read over the ſtalls of the Prebendaries in S. Paul's. Of theſe eſtates, eight only were at ſome diſtance from the Cathedral, two in Bedfordſhire, five in Eſſex, one in Middleſex. Of the other twenty-two, nine were in Willeſden ; the reſt were in the immediate neighbourhood of London. One of the ſtalls ſtill bears the name of Conſumpta per Mare ; the eſtate was in

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* *Pepper* probably ſtands for any kind of ſpice.

Walton-on-the-Naze, and the inundation which the name commemorates ſeems to have occurred about the time of the Conqueſt.

Beſide this ſeparate ſtall property, a conſiderable number of manors ſupplied what was called the *Communa*, or *Common Fund* of the Chapter, and this was, for the moſt part, allotted to the Residentiaries, of whom ſomething will be ſaid by and by.

It was the duty of each Canon to recite daily, whether preſent in church or abſent, a portion of the Pſalter. The firſt words of the ſection to be recited by each ſtill ſtand, as of old they ſtood, over the ſtall of each of the Prebendaries. As there are thirty Prebendaries and one hundred and fifty Pſalms, the portion which each was bound to repeat was about five Pſalms. Dean Donne, when Prebendary of Chiſwick, preached a ſeries of five ſermons on "the Prebend of Cheſwick's five Pſalms:" and in one of theſe ſermons he ſays, quaintly enough, "The Pſalmes are the manna of the Church. As the whole Book is manna, ſo theſe five Pſalmes are my Gomer,* which I am to fill and empty every day of this manna." And in another place he ſays, "Every day God receives from us [the Prebendaries], howſoever we be divided from one another in place, the Sacrifice of Praiſe in the whole Booke of Pſalmes. And though we may be abſent from this Quire, yet whereſoever diſperſed, we make up a Quire in this ſervice of ſaying over all the Pſalmes every day."

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* Gomer, or Omer, as in our preſent Engliſh verſion, in alluſion to Exodus xvi. 32-36.

Of theſe thirty Canons a varying number, actually reſident on the ſpot, and taking their part in the daily offices, were called Reſidentiaries. So cloſely was he kept to his duties, that a Reſidentiary in his firſt year might not reſide ſo far from the Cathedral as *Hereford Houſe* in Old Dean's Lane, now called Warwick Lane; nor yet in the houſe called *Domus Dianæ* or *Roſamundæ* on Paul's Wharf Hill; theſe houſes were conſidered too far diſtant from the Cathedral, although either muſt have been within four minutes' leiſurely walk. He was to be preſent at all the Canonical Hours; to ſhow large and coſtly hoſpitality, daily entertaining ſome of the clergy, and from time to time inviting the Biſhop, and the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, for it was deſirable to maintain kindly relations with the City. So late as 1843 the ſhadow of the old hoſpitality remained, for the Canon-in-reſidence, up to the cloſe of that year, ſtill continued to entertain at dinner on Sundays the Clergy and Vicars-Choral of the Church who had attended the morning ſervice. At that time the Sunday dinners were abandoned, and a money payment ſubſtituted in their ſtead.

This is not the place in which to ſpeak at length of the prolonged diſputes about reſidence; thoſe who deſire full information will find it in Dean Milman's *Annals*. Suffice it to ſay that when the Common Fund was low, it was very difficult to find Reſidentiaries, ſtatutes were paſſed to compel the Prebendaries to reſide: when the Fund was large, the ſame authority found it neceſſary to limit the number.

Some Canons preferred to live upon their own eſtates; others held their ſtalls as one of many pluralities, for they were ſometimes beſtowed upon Biſhops, dignitaries, foreigners, and, it muſt be added, even upon children.

As the Canons were bound to keep the Canonical Hours, and to ſerve ſucceſſively at the High Altar, and as many were non-reſident, each Canon had his Vicar. The thirty VICARS had their Common Hall. They took rank after the Chaplains, who, in their turn, were inferior to the Minor Canons. In Dean Colet's time the number of Vicars had dwindled down to ſix, and that is the number of the Vicars-Choral at the preſent day. Twelve Aſſiſtant-Vicars-Choral have recently been appointed to augment the ſtrength of the Choir.

The MINOR CANONS, twelve in number, are a body as old as the Cathedral itſelf. They were incorporated as a College by Richard II. in 1394, and they ſtill poſſeſs the Royal Charter granted to them by the King. A Statute iſſued by the Dean and Chapter in 1364 ſtates that they excel in honour and dignity all Chaplains in the Cathedral, that they officiate at the High Altar in the ſtead of the Greater Canons, and that they are to wear almuces of fur after the manner of the Greater Canons, inſtead of almuces of black cloth ſuch as Chaplains wore. They poſſeſſed eſtates of their own, and had a common ſeal. When a vacancy occurred in their body, they nominated to the Dean and Chapter two candidates, of whom the Dean and Chapter elected one. One of their own number was appointed by themſelves as *Cuſtos* or

Warden; two were called Cardinals, *Cardinales Chori*, an office not found in any other church in England; another was called the *Pitantiary*, and it was his duty to collect and to diſtribute the *pittances* and other payments due to the body. Their dreſs conſiſted of a white ſurplice, black copes with cowls, and almuces of black fur.

The CHANTRY PRIESTS, a large body of men, were bound not only to ſay maſs at the ſpecial Altars to which they were attached, but alſo to attend in Choir, and there to perform ſuch duties as were aſſigned to them.

Chaucer alludes to the eagerneſs with which ſome of the country clergy, to the neglect of their own benefices, ſought for Chantries in S. Paul's. He contraſts with them his model Pariſh Prieſt:

> "He ſette not his benefice to hire,
> And lette his ſhepe accombred in the mire
> And ran unto London, unto S. Poules,
> To ſeken him a chanterie for ſoules,
> Or with a Brotherhede to be withold;
> But dwelt at home, and keptē well his folde.
> So that the wolf ne made it not miſcarry.
> He was a ſhepherd, and no mercenary."

The paſſage will be found in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, vv. 509-516. In the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* Chaucer refers to another ſomewhat ſimilar office, that of the *Annuallere* or Prieſt who ſang *Annuals* or Anniverſary Maſſes for the dead:

> "In London was a Prieſt, an Annuallere,
> That therein dwelled haddē many a year."—Vv. 16, 480-1.

The time would fail to enumerate the leſſer officers,

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ſuch as the Almoner, the four Vergers and their *Garciones* or Servitors, the Surveyor, the twelve Scribes or Writers who ſat at certain places in the nave of the Cathedral for the ſervice of the public, the Book Tranſcriber, the Book Binder, the Chamberlain, the Rent Collector, the Baker, the Brewer, and the hoſts of minor perſons who followed in their train.

It would be very intereſting, were it poſſible, to form ſome accurate idea of the number of perſons who lived within the Cathedral Cloſe or near at hand, and who derived their ſuſtenance from the Cathedral revenues. But the taſk is too difficult. The Biſhop, with his Chaplains and houſehold; the Dean, with his houſehold; the Reſidentiaries, varying probably from two to eleven; the twelve Minor Canons; the thirty Vicars; the crowd of Chantry Prieſts (in the firſt year of Edward VI. there would appear to have been not leſs than fifty-two); the Choir boys, and the boys of the Grammar School; the Minor Officials; theſe muſt repreſent a very large number of perſons actually reſident under the ſhadow of the Cathedral. To theſe muſt be added the Bedeſmen and poor folk who came hither for relief.

The care, labour, and forethought required to feed this multitude muſt have been very great and conſtant. Archdeacon Hale, in his *Domeſday of S. Paul's*, has treated this ſubject very fully and minutely. Certainly the Brewer had no ſinecure. The brewings for the uſe of the Cathedral took place nearly twice a week. "In 1286 there were one hundred brewings in the year. The quantity of grain conſumed conſiſted of 175 quarters of barley, 175 quarters of wheat, 720 quarters of oats. We learn from the *compotus* (or account) of 1286 that the whole number of bollæ (or gallons) brewed was 67,814."*

If the Brewer's labours were ſo heavy, the Baker alſo was not idle ; Archdeacon Hale calculates, that the yearly iſſue of bread amounted to no leſs than forty thouſand loaves. The weight and quality of the loaves, varying according to the rank of the perſons ſupplied, were matters of ſufficient importance to be regulated by ſtatute.

To convey from the manors of the Cathedral the food furniſhed by the tenants, and to prepare and diſtribute this food to the appointed recipients, muſt have been a work requiring in itſelf no little organiſation and the aid of a very conſiderable ſtaff. Roads were not always eaſily paſſable, ruts were deep, robberies were frequent; in times of ſcarcity or of tumult a well-laden waggon on its way to the Cathedral muſt have preſented a tempting bait to the ſparſe population which occupied the ſuburbs of the City. A ſtrong eſcort muſt often have been neceſſary to enſure that the food ſhould reach the hungry mouths which eagerly expected it.

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* *Domeſday of S. Paul's*, p. l.

THE RITUAL AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER III.

THE RITUAL AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE CATHEDRAL.

THE previous chapter has exhibited the Cathedral only ſo far as its ſtaff was concerned. We have ſeen the Biſhop, Dean, Canons Reſidentiary, Minor Canons, Vicars, and Chantry Prieſts, a large army, with the ſubordinate officers who were aſſociated with them. Let us now endeavour to obtain a glimpſe of the Religious Life of the Cathedral. The Statutes of S. Paul's are exceedingly full of matter illuſtrating the ancient Ritual. Seven times a day the bells of the Cathedral ſounded for the Canonical Hours: Matins and Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sexts, Nones, Veſpers, Compline. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for the number of theſe Hours. Some ſee the original of the number in David's words, "Seven times a day do I praiſe Thee, becauſe of Thy righteous judgments."* Others ſay that the Hours are a thankſ-giving for the completion of the Creation on the ſeventh day. Another theory connects them, and the idea is a very reverent one, with the Acts of our Lord in His Paſſion. "Evenſong with His inſtitution of the Euchariſt, and waſhing the diſciples' feet, and the going out to Gethſemane; Compline with His Agony and Bloody Sweat; Matins with His appearance before Caiaphas; Prime and Tierce with that in the preſence of Pilate; Tierce with His Scourging, Crown of thorns, and Preſentation to the people; Sext with His bearing the Croſs, the Seven Words, and Crucifixion; Nones with His diſmiſſion of His ſpirit, and deſcent into hell; Veſpers with the Depoſition from the Croſs, and Entombment; Compline with the ſetting of the Watch; Matins with His Reſurrection."* A brief but excellent analyſis of the ſeveral offices ſaid at theſe Canonical Hours will be found in the recently publiſhed *Dictionary of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities*.†

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* Pſalm cxix. 164.

Nocturns or *Matins* was a ſervice before daybreak; *Lauds*, a ſervice at daybreak, quickly following, or even joining *Matins; Prime*, a late morning ſervice, about ſix o'clock; *Tierce*, at nine o'clock; *Sexts*, at noon; *Nones*, at three o'clock in the afternoon; *Veſpers*, an evening ſervice; *Compline*, a late evening ſervice at bed-time.‡ In 1263 it was ordered that Veſpers and Compline ſhould be ſaid together.

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* Mackenzie Walcott, *Sacred Archæology*, p. 317.

† Under the words, *Office, the Divine*, and *Hours of Prayer*.

J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. xxviii.

The Apoſtles' Maſs was ſaid at S. Paul's very early in the morning, "in prima pulſatione," by one of the Minor Canons. The Maſs of the Bleſſed Virgin followed. The Cardinals celebrated the Capitular Maſs, at which the Minor Canons and Vicars attended, unleſs hindered by reaſonable cauſe. Very many Maſses were ſaid by the Chantry Prieſts, daily.

In 1456-7, Biſhop Kempe promulgated an important Statute.* He had obſerved, he ſays, at his viſitation of the Cathedral, that the Copes and Veſtments uſed in the Divine ſervice were worn and well-nigh deſtroyed with age. Inſtead of being an ornament and a glory to the Church, they were, in truth, a deformity and a diſgrace. He ordains that, in future, every Biſhop of the See ſhould, within three years from the time of his conſecration, preſent a ſilken Cope of not leſs value than twenty marks ſterling, and he himſelf ſets an excellent example by preſenting a Cope of that value. Each Dean ſhould preſent a Cope worth ten marks: and the Major Perſons and Canons were directed to pay to the Sacriſt, within a year of their inſtallation, ſums varying in amount according to the value of their preferment, to be applied to the ſame purpoſe. Thus a proviſion was made for the conſtant renewal of the Veſtments.

Dugdale prints a very important document, a Viſitation of the Cathedral in 1295,† made by the Dean, Ralph de Baldock, which exhibits a minute and careful catalogue of the Veſtments, ſacred veſſels, relics, ornaments, and books belonging to S. Paul's. Thoſe who deſire to underſtand this ſubject thoroughly, ſhould carefully ſtudy ſuch a liſt as this. At preſent, we will ſpeak only of the books. The greateſt treaſures were, probably, the *Textus*, or manuſcripts of the Goſpels. Of theſe there were no leſs than eleven, remarkable for their handwriting, ſome written in very large letters, others in what was, even in 1295, an ancient character, and all bound with great care with ſilver covers richly ſculptured and enamelled. As all the copies enumerated in this inventory are gorgeouſly bound, there were no doubt many other plainer copies, intended for everyday use. Of ritual books there was a rich ſtore. There were four Pſalters, eight Antiphonals; of Books of Homilies (including under this head Legenda, Martyrologies, and Paſſionals) there were no leſs than twenty; of Miſſals there were eleven, beſide ſix others always kept in the Church; of Manuals, Graduals, Troperia, Organ-books, Epiſtle-books, Goſpel-books, Collectaria and Capitularia, an ample ſtore; whilſt Pontificals and Benedictionals were not wanting. Under the head of Cronica are inſerted ſome Bibles and portions of the Holy Scriptures, with gloſſes, and a Chronicle by the hiſtorian Ralph de Diceto. Other books were found at the ſeveral altars.

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* *Statutes*, p. 204.

† Dugdale, pp. 310-335.

It cannot be ſaid, with abſolute certainty, that any one of theſe books is now in exiſtence, except the grand Chronicle of Ralph de Diceto, which has found its way to the Archbiſhop's Library at Lambeth; and a manuſcript collection of the Miracles of the Bleſſed Virgin, which has ſtrayed to King's College Aberdeen.

The plate, jewels, ornaments, and veſtments, not already ſeized by Henry VIII., were ſurrendered to the King's Commiſſioners in 7 Edward VI., the Dean and Chapter requeſting that (of all the magnificent treaſures, invaluable to the hiſtory of art) they might be allowed to retain three chalices, "two pair of Baſyns for to bring the Communion Bread, and to receive the offerings for the poor, whereof one pair ſylver for every day, the other for Feſtivals, gilt; a ſylver Pot to put the wine in for the Communion Table, weighing xl. ounces;" and the written Texts of the Goſpels and Epiſtles; together with a few linen cloths, ſome Albs to be made into ſurplices, upholſtery-work, and a Paſtoral Staff for the Biſhop. The ſaid Dean and Chapter alſo aſked an allowance of £18 6s. 3d. "towards the charges of taking down the ſteps and place of the High Altar," and for providing ſome neceſſaries.*

There is an exceedingly characteriſtic letter extant, written by Dr. John Smythe, Canon Reſidentiary of S. Paul's, to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Anne Boleyn,† which ſpeaks volumes as to the manner in which Henry VIII. dealt with the choice Ornaments of the Church. It appears the King had ſeen in the Cathedral "a preſſyous lytle croſſe, with a cruſefyxe, all of pure gold, with a riche rubye in the ſyde, and garneſhed with foare greate diamonds, iiij. greate emeraulds, and iiij. large ballaſſes, with xij. great orient perles, etc." "Uppon the Kings highe affectyone and pleſure of the ſyghte of the ſam," Dr. Smythe and others of the Reſidentiaries, "had in comaundements by the mouthe of Mr. Secretary, in the King's name, to be with his Grace with the ſame croſſe to-morrow." Dr. Smythe writes, little thinking that his letter would ever ſee the light, to ſay that by his own "eſpeſſyal inſtructyon, convayaunce, and labores, his Grace ſhall have highe pleſure thearin to the accompleſhemente of his affectyon in and of the ſam of our fre gyfte;" and he concludes by putting forth ſome urgent requeſts for his own private ends in oppoſition to the Dean, of whom he ſpeaks evil ſecretly behind his back, but "of no mallys," as he hypocritically puts it. An unſpeakably mean letter, Dr. Smythe! When Kings forget their duty, men of the baſer ſort are always ready to pander to their paſſions.

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* Dugdale, p. 391.

† Dugdale, pp. 403-4.

The loſs of the rich art treaſures of the Church is much to be deplored, but far more ſad, becauſe utterly irreparable, is the loſs of the Service-books. S. Paul's, as became its venerable age and dignity, had, like Sarum, like York, like Hereford, a "Uſe" of its own. And of this *Uſe* no example is certainly extant, unleſs the two offices of SS. Peter and Paul and of S. Erkenwald, lately diſcovered in the Britiſh Muſeum, are fragments of it.* There is, indeed, a miſſal preſerved in the National Collection, which is lettered, "according to the Uſe of S. Paul's Cathedral, London;" but, unfortunately, it is of too late a date to be of much intereſt to the Liturgiologiſt, for its rubrics are according to the Uſe of Sarum. On October 15,

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* I found theſe *Offices* in one of Cole's MSS., and have printed them in *Documents*, etc., pp. 17-39.

1414, Biſhop Clifford, with the conſent of the Dean and Chapter, decreed that, from the firſt day of December following, the Divine Office in S. Paul's ſhould henceforth be conformable to that of the Church of Saliſbury for all Canonical Hours both night and day.* The original decree of Biſhop Clifford has recently been diſcovered in the Chapter Houſe by Canon Stubbs. The miſſal referred to has been a very beautiful volume, but its illuminations have been cut out, poſſibly to adorn ſome utterly reckleſs collector's ſcrap-book.

In the Statutes of the Cathedral, compiled by Ralph de Baldock (Dean of S. Paul's, 1294-1305, and Biſhop of London, 1305-1313), and carried down to his own time by Thomas Liſieux (Dean, 1441-1456), will be found an elaborate and minute claſſification of the Feſtivals of the year, arranged according to their dignity and importance.† The two Feaſts of S. Erkenwald, the Depoſition, April 30, and the Tranſlation, November 14; and the two Feaſts of S. Paul, the Converſion, January 25, and the Commemoration, June 30, are of courſe Feaſts of the firſt claſs. On ſuch Feaſt-days, before Veſpers and Matins, the bells gave ſpecial ſignal of the importance of the day: they were rung two and two before the peal was ſounded. On ordinary days the bells were ſounded ſingly. Four Cantors were appointed to rule the Choir, to ſing the Invitatory, and to ſay the laſt reſponſe at Matins. To ſing the Reſponſe at Veſpers four of the Greater Perſons were ſelected by the Precentor, or, in his abſence, by the Succentor. If the Biſhop, Dean, and Four *Perſons* were preſent, the latter, with the Dean, ſang the Reſponſe. At Veſpers, Matins, and other Hours, four boys in ſurplices ſaid the Verſicles. Two prieſts with cenſers incenſed the Altar at the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, and ſang the Antiphons.

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* Dugdale, p. 16.

† See *Statutes*, p. 51.

Theſe details, however, will hardly intereſt any who have not made ritual a ſpecial ſtudy. Suffice it to ſay that each day brought with it an unceaſing round of ſervices. The Canonical Hours were ſaid, the Maſſes celebrated; care was taken for religious inſtruction by preaching. As early as 1281, Richard de Swinefield, Archdeacon of London, afterwards Biſhop of Hereford, was appointed preacher in the Cathedral.* He was "learned in the ſacred page, and an excellent preacher:" "a moſt approved theologian, and a gracious preacher;" beloved by Clergy and Laity of the City. A few years later, Biſhop Richard de Graveſend appointed a Divinity Lecturer, and Ralph de Baldock, his ſucceſſor, endowed the office in 2 Edward II.

Each officer had his ſpecial work to do. The Precentor appointed what muſic ſhould be ſung, and nominated the perſons who were to ſing it. The care of the ſinging ſchool, and of the general inſtruction of the choriſters, brought its daily round of duty. The Treaſurer, with his priceleſs ſtore of rich jewels, books, and veſtments, found ample occupation for himſelf and his attendants. The Chancellor gave licenſes to ſchoolmaſters, and, it may well be ſup-

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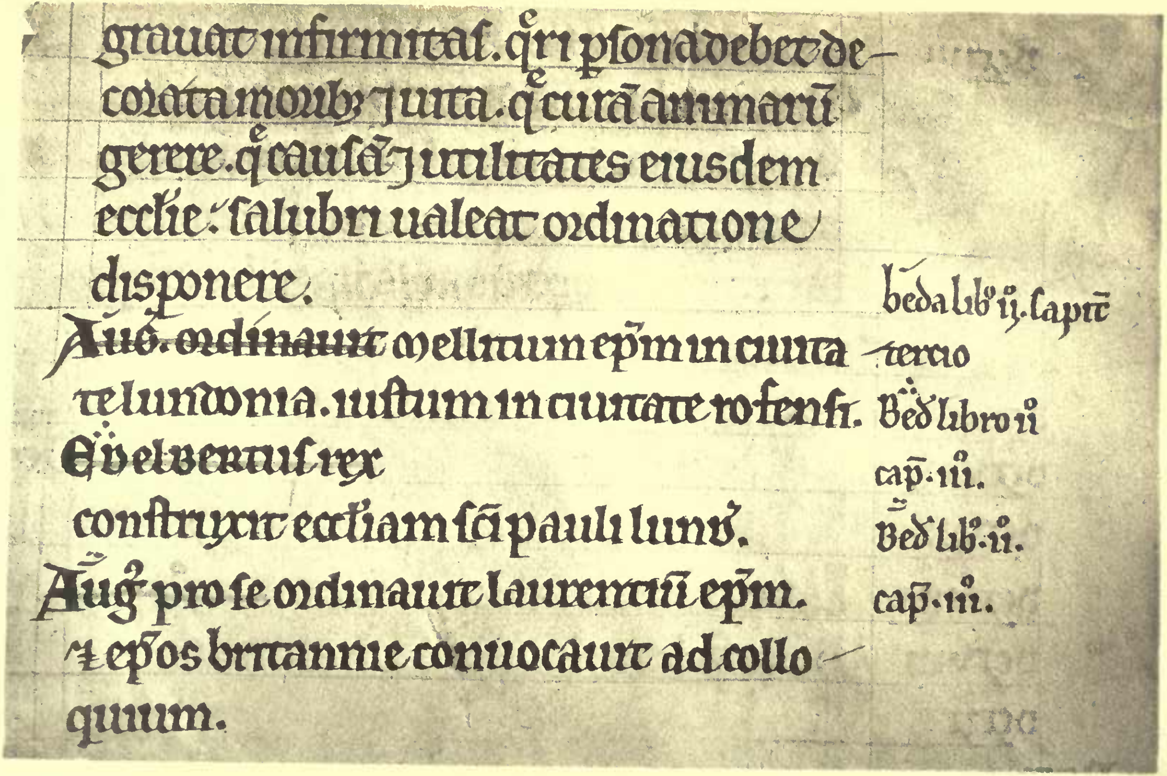
* *Statutes*, p. 188.



grauat infirmitas. qͤ in p̄sona debet de-
corata morib; & uita. qͤ curã animarũ
gerere. qͤ causas & utilitates eiusdem
eccl̃ie: salubri ualeat ordinatione
disponere.

beda lib̊ ij. capitĩ tercio

Aug. ordinauit mellitum ep̃m in ciuita-
te lundonia. iustum in ciuitate rofensi.

Bed libro ii cap. iii.

Edelbertus rex
construxit ecclesiam sc̃i pauli lund.

Bed lib. ii. cap. iii.

Aug pro se ordinauit laurentiũ ep̃m.
& ep̃os britannie conuocauit ad collo-
quium.

poſed, examined them and their ſcholars. Two ſchools only, in all the City of London, claimed exemption from his juriſdiction: the ſchool of S. Mary-le-Bow, and that of S. Martin-le-Grand. The Scriptorium of the Cathedral was an important department, and was ably governed: the grand Pauline hand is well known to thoſe who have worked in the archives. The *Statuta Majora*, and a noble folio copy of Ralph de Diceto's *Hiſtory*—the former preſerved at S. Paul's, the latter now at Lambeth Library—are very fine examples of the bold, clear hand, in which the Pauline Scribes excelled.* The inks, both red and black, retain their full luſtre: the colours could ſcarcely have been more beautiful on the day that the writing was executed. Theſe accompliſhed Scribes wrote the Church Service-books, and multiplied copies of rare manuſcripts to enrich the Library. Every man had his work to do, when the ſyſtem was properly developed.

To the ordinary daily offices muſt be added occaſional ſervices. Many pilgrims viſited the famous ſhrines of the Cathedral. The devout people came in great numbers to kneel at the renowned ſhrines of S. Erkenwald, and of Mellitus, and of Roger Niger. A ſhort form of prayer, with a hymn, which may probably have been recited by pilgrims at the ſhrine of S. Erkenwald has been lately printed.†

Occaſionally irregular forms of devotion ſprung up in the Cathedral, like the ſtrange popular devotion to Thomas of Lancaſter. Thomas, Earl of Lancaſter, "was the ſon of Edmund, the ſecond ſon of Henry III., and titular King of Sicily, by Blanche of Artois, queen dowager of Navarre. Couſin to the King, uncle to the Queen, high ſteward of England, poſſeſſor of the Earldoms of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, and Derby, he ſtood at the head of a body of vaſſals who, under Montfort and the Ferrers, had long been in oppoſition to the Crown. He was married to the heireſs of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Saliſbury. A ſtrong, unſcrupulous, coarſe, and violent man, he was devoid of political foresight, incapable of political self-ſacrifice, and unable to uſe power when it fell into his hands. His cruel death and the later development of the Lancaſtrian power, by a ſort of reflex action, exalted him into a patriot, a martyr, and a ſaint."* His ſtory cannot even be epitomiſed here. Suffice it to ſay, that he was defeated at the battle of Boroughbridge, March 16, 1322, and taken captive by Sir Andrew Harclay. "Six days after his capture, the great earl, in his own caſtle of Pomfret, before a body of peers with Edward himſelf at their head, was tried, condemned, and beheaded, as a rebel taken in arms againſt the King, and convicted of dealing with the Scots. The haſte and cruelty of the proceeding were too ſadly juſtified by the earl's own conduct in the caſe of Gaveſton. Yet cruel, unſcrupulous, treacherous, and ſelfiſh as Thomas of

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* The accompanying plate gives a *fac ſimile* of a few lines from Ralph de Diceto's *Hiſtory*.

† *Documents*, p. 16.

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* Canon Stubbs' *Conſtitutional Hiſtory of England*, ii. pp. 349, 350.

Lancaſter is ſhown by every recorded act of his life to have been, there was ſomething in ſo ſudden and ſo great a fall that touches men's hearts. The cauſe was better than the man or the principles on which he maintained it. A people, new as yet to political power, ſaw in the chief opponent of royal folly a champion of their own rights: rude, inſolent, and unwarlike, an adulterer and a murderer, he was liberal of his gifts to the poor, and a bountiful patron of the clergy: his fame grew after his death."* By-and-by the commons prayed for the canoniſation of Earl Thomas, a propoſal which was revived from time to time. It is even ſaid by Walſingham to have been ſucceſſful in 1390.† It was reported that miracles were wrought at his tomb. At Briſtol alſo, Henry de Montfort and Henry Wylyngton, who had been hanged there, were ſaid to be working miracles. The earl's relics ſweated blood, it was believed.‡ A tablet erected in S. Paul's to commemorate him was the ſcene of ſome of theſe alleged miracles. "The crooked were made ſtraight, the blind received their ſight, and the deaf their hearing, and other beneficial works of grace were there openly ſhown," ſays the *French Chronicle of London*.§ A ſhort *Office* probably intended to be ſaid at his tomb, and a more elaborate Office, conſiſting of an Antiphon, Collect, Proſe, Sequence, and two Hymns, will be found in

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* Canon Stubbs' *Conſtitutional Hiſtory of England*, Library Edition, ii. p. 380.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 385, 401.

‡ *Ibid.*, iii. p. 220.

§ Edited by H. T. Riley, pp. 257, 258.

Documents illuſtrating the Hiſtory of S. Paul's Cathedral.[*] Crowds of people thronged to the Cathedral to pay their devotion to this ſaint of their own making, for it is highly improbable that he was ever canoniſed. Lingard ſays,[†] that the requeſt for his canoniſation was not even noticed by the Pope.

This new *culte* was exceedingly unpalatable to the King. On June 28, 1323, Edward II. iſſued a peremptory letter addreſſed to Stephen Graveſend, Biſhop of London, concerning this Tablet and theſe ſpecial devotions. The Tablet muſt be removed ; upon it was pourtrayed the effigy of Thomas, formerly Earl of Lancaſter, "a rebel and our enemy." The devotion before it had not received the ſanction of the Holy See. The Biſhop had, neverthelеſs, connived at it. The King does not heſitate to inſinuate that the Biſhop had been influenced by low and baſe motives, and that the love of "filthy lucre" had not been wanting. The people are to be reſtrained from theſe devotions, that the indignation of God and the King may be avoided. Accordingly, on July 7, by virtue of the King's writ, iſſued from the Chancery, the Tablet was taken down, and the wax taper which ſtood before it was removed. For ſome little time, however, the people continued to make oblations at the pillar on which the Tablet had hung.[‡]

A relic of the devotion to Thomas of Lancaſter was brought to light in 1824, when a richly-embroidered chaſuble of the time of Henry VII. was diſcovered in a walled-up crypt beneath the chancel of the pariſh church at Warrington. On one of the orphreys of the chaſuble is the figure of a man fully armed, holding a battle-axe in his left hand, which has been decided by the late Dr. Rock to be the effigy of the Earl of Lancaſter. Leaden brooches, repreſenting a knight holding a battle-axe, have been found in London, and theſe, too, may poſſibly be tokens given to pilgrims who had viſited the tablet.

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[*] *Documents*, pp. 11-14.

[†] Lingard, iii. p. 34.

[‡] *Documents*, pp. xviii., xix.

The meetings of the various Guilds for their own appointed ſervices, and the proceſſions from pariſhes in the City to the Cathedral at ſtated times, eſpecially at Pentecoſt and at certain other Feaſts, added greatly to the multitude of worſhippers who thronged the long-drawn aiſles of the Cathedral.

The fooliſh and profane rites of the Boy-Biſhop found their place here, as in other cathedrals and very many pariſh churches. Holy Innocents' Day, Childermas, as the old name is, was his grand day of office. On the eve of S. Nicholas, the ſpecial patron of children (December 6 is the ſaint's feſtival), the children of the choir elected one of their number to be the boy-biſhop, and others who were to be his clerks. A ſet of Pontifical veſtments was provided for him. At S. Paul's theſe compriſed a white mitre embroidered with little flowers, a rich paſtoral ſtaff, and, no doubt, all other veſtments pertaining to his ſuppoſed dignity. His attendants were veſted in copes. "Towards the end of evenſong on S. John's Day, the boy-biſhop and his clerks, arrayed in their copes and having burning tapers in their hands, and ſinging thoſe words of the Apocalypſe (ch. xiv.), *Centum quadraginta*, walked proceſſionally from the Choir to the Altar of the Bleſſed Trinity, which the boy-biſhop incenſed. Afterwards they all ſang the anthem, and he recited the prayer commemorative of the Holy Innocents. Going back into the Choir, theſe boys took poſſeſſion of the upper Canons' ſtalls, and thoſe dignitaries themſelves had to ſerve in the boys' places, and carry the candles, the thurible, the book, like acolytes, thurifers, and lower clerks. Standing on high, wearing his mitre, and holding his paſtoral ſtaff in his left hand, the boy-biſhop gave his ſolemn benediction to all preſent: and, while making the ſign of the croſs over the kneeling crowd, he said:

> "Crucis ſigno vos conſigno; veſtra ſit tuitio.
> Quos nos emit et redemit ſuæ carnis pretio."*

The next day, the feaſt of Holy Innocents, the boy-biſhop preached a ſermon. Two ſuch ſermons in Engliſh delivered, the one at S. Paul's and the other at Glouceſter, have lately been printed.† Dean Colet expreſſly ordered, in the Statutes of his School, that all the ſcholars ſhould attend at the Cathedral to hear this ſermon, "with the maiſters and ſerveyors of the ſcole," and that each of the children ſhould offer one penny to the youthful Prelate. The boy-biſhop was even allowed to commence the maſs, and to go on "up to the more ſolemn part of the offertory."[*]

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* Dr. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, vol. iii., pt. 2, pp. 215-219.

† *Two Sermons preached by the Boy-Biſhop, at S. Paul's, temp. Henry VII., and at Glouceſter, temp. Mary.* Edited by the late able antiquary, Mr. John Gough Nichols, for the *Camden Society Miſcellany*, vol. vii.

In 1263 ſome rules were drawn up for the regulation of this function at S. Paul's. Care was to be taken leſt the liberty of that day ſhould degenerate into licenſe. The boy-biſhop muſt not, in future, ſelect any of the Canons, Major or Minor, to bear the tapers or the cenſer, but he muſt ſelect his miniſters from thoſe who ſat on the ſecond or third form. The Dean ſhould provide a horſe on which the boy-biſhop might ride forth to give his benediction to the people, and each Reſidentiary ſupplied a horſe for ſome other perſon in the proceſſion. There was feaſting throughout the Cloſe. The boy-biſhop, attended by two chaplains, two taper-bearers, five clerks, and two of the Church ſervants preceding him with wands, ſupped with one of the Canons Reſidentiary.

Cranmer forbad theſe proceſſions, Queen Mary reſtored them, and they were finally aboliſhed by Queen Elizabeth.

A few notes as to Poſt Reformation uſages may not be unacceptable.

Biſhop Bancroft's *Viſitation* in 1598[†] gives us ſome details about the Divine Offices. Prayers were ſaid in the Jeſus Chapel at five in the morning, and at ſix o'clock in the winter, by the Minor Canons. The Subdean and the two Cardinals were, by ancient cuſtom, exempted from this duty. The Saturday Chapter was retained. In term-time there was a divinity lecture, with prayers. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen aſſembled in S. Dunſtan's Chapel "every Sondaye morninge before thei goe vnto the Sarmon." Sermons were preached and Pſalms were ſung at Paul's Croſs. The details are ſcanty—probably the *Returns* are very imperfect.

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[*] *Statutes* pp. 91-93.

[†] The returns, in manuſcript, are ſtill preſerved at the Cathedral.

In 1636 Archbiſhop Laud viſited the Cathedral, as Metropolitan. The Dean and Chapter proteſted ſtrongly, but in vain, againſt this exerciſe of the Archbiſhop's juriſdiction, but the King, in a curt letter, required their ſubmiſſion. The Returns of the Dean and Chapter, and of the Minor Canons, to the Viſitation queſtions have lately been printed in the *Reports* of the Hiſtorical Manuſcripts Commiſſion.* "Divine ſervice is daylie vſed, and the ſacraments duly adminiſtered in due time by ſinging and note according to y^e^ vsuall cuſtome of y^e^ ſaid church." A ſermon was preached every Sunday afternoon by the Dean or Reſidentiaries, or ſome deputed by them: previouſly two lecturers had taken this duty, a payment of £6 13s. 4d. being aſſigned to each. On every holiday the morning ſermon was preached by the *Greater Perſons*, the afternoon ſermon by a lecturer. Thrice a week in term-time a lecturer preached, who received £60 a year for his pains, £20 from the Chancellor and £40 from "an addition given by Dr. White," the pious founder of Sion College. There were four Reſidentiaries, and ten choriſters, in theſe days. The Dean and Chapter make return, with the greateſt *naïveté* that the conſtitutions of the Church were duly obſerved, "excepting that in the long vacacion *and times of dangerous infection* wee all repaire to our benefices, leaveing the ordering of the Choir and Divine Service to the Subdeane according to the cuſtome of the church."

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* *Appendix to Fourth Report*, pp. 154-157.

But Biſhop Compton's *Viſitation* in 1696* is the moſt important Poſt Reformational Viſitation extant. The minuteſt details of public worſhip are here ſet forth. Daily prayers are to be ſaid at ten and three; on Sundays, morning prayer at nine. The firſt Leſſon was read by a Vicar-Choral. The Litany was ſung by two Minor Canons, in the midſt of the Choir. The *Venite* and the Pſalms for the day were to be ſung in alternate verſes, antiphonally, *et harmonice*, as often as it ſeemed good to the Dean or Residentiaries. Early Morning Prayer was ſaid at ſix from Lady Day to Michaelmas, and at ſeven from Michaelmas to Lady Day; Evening Prayer at ſix o'clock all the year round.

But probably the moſt important feature of Biſhop Compton's regulations was his Order for Preaching on all Feſtival Days. It is in ſubſtance the ſame as that now in uſe. Every one of the Greater Perſons and Canons, found himſelf reſponſible for one or two ſermons in the courſe of each year; and was thus brought into viſible aſſociation with the Cathedral. There was to be a celebration of Holy Communion on all Sundays and Feaſts, the *Triſagion* and the *Gloria in Excelſis* being ſung by the Choir.

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* *Statuta*, pp. 281-286.

At Biſhop Gibſon's Viſitation in 1742, the hours of the daily ſervice were altered to a quarter before ten, and a quarter paſt three.

In November, 1869, the daily morning ſervice was ordered to be ſaid at ten. The afternoon ſervice has, for many years, been ſaid at four. The Sunday ſervices were then at half paſt ten and a quarter paſt three, and the Sunday afternoon ſermon, which had been preached immediately after the Anthem, was at this time removed to the end of the ſervice. In 1872 an early celebration of the Holy Communion, at eight o'clock in the morning, on Sundays and Feſtivals was introduced: and ſince 1 January, 1877, there has been a *daily* celebration at the ſame hour.

A WALK ROUND OLD S. PAUL'S: THE EXTERIOR.

CHAPTER IV.

A WALK ROUND OLD S. PAUL'S: THE EXTERIOR.

AS it is juſt poſſible that ſome of my readers may not be quite familiar with Old S. Paul's, its exterior and its interior, I will beg leave to act as their guide and will aſk them to accompany me on a ſhort excurſion. We will ſtart from the banks of the Fleet river, and imagine ourſelves to be walking up Ludgate Hill ſomewhere about the year 1510. At this time the Fleet, which took its origin at Hampſtead Hill, augmented by the waters of the Old Bourne (we have corrupted the name into Holborn), was beginning to acquire a ſomewhat evil reputation. The upper waters had been diverted and the once navigable ſtream was becoming choked and ſtagnant. Pope directs us in his *Dunciad* (Book II.):

> "To where Fleet-ditch, with diſemboguing ſtreams
> Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames,
> The king of dykes! than whom no ſluice of mud
> With deeper ſable blots the ſilver flood.

And Swift, in his *City Shower*, in vigorous if not refined language, tells how

> "Drown'd puppies, ſtinking ſprats, all drown'd in mud ;
> Dead cats, and turnip-tops, come tumbling down the flood."

Leaving the valley of the unſavoury Fleet, let us turn our ſteps eaſtward, and aſcend the Hill. We ſoon arrive at the ancient wall (a fragment of it ſtill remains), and paſs under Lud Gate itſelf. [It croſſed the hill a little to the weſt of S. Martin's Church. Roman remains, a fragment of a ſtatue of Hercules, and a monument dedicated by Anencletus, a Roman ſoldier, to Claudina Martina his wife, have been diſcovered near at hand.] The gate itſelf is uſed as a priſon, and contains a chapel built by Dame Agnes Foſter in the middle of the fifteenth century.*

Paſſing through this ſtrongly fortified gate, which is ſaid to have been "repaired or rather new-built" in 1215, when portions of the houſes of ſome opulent Jews were uſed in the reconſtruction, we proceed along Ludgate Street, and ſoon arrive at the Great Weſtern Gate of the Cloſe ſpanning the ſtreet towards the ends of Creed Lane and Ave Maria Lane. The Cathedral ſtands within a ſpacious walled encloſure. The wall, erected about 1109, and by letters patent of Edward I., greatly ſtrengthened in 1285, extends from the N.E. corner of Ave Maria Lane, runs Eaſtward along Paternoſter Row to the North end of Old Change in Cheapſide ; thence Southward to Carter Lane, and on the North of Carter Lane to Creed Lane, back to the Great Weſtern Gate. There are ſix entrances to the encloſure. The firſt is the Great Weſtern Gate, by which we have juſt entered; the ſecond, in Paul's Alley in Paternoſter Row, leading to the poſtern gate of the Cathedral; the third, at Canon Alley; the fourth or Little Gate, where S. Paul's Churchyard and Cheapſide now unite; the fifth, S. Auguſtine's Gate, at the Weſt end of Watling Street; the ſixth, at Paul's Chain.

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* It was taken down in 1760-2.

Entering beneath the Great Gate, we ſee at once the Weſtern front of the Cathedral. Perhaps, at firſt ſight, we may be a little diſappointed, for it is a ſimple Norman façade, and by no means ornate. Its broad ſimplicity takes away from its real ſize, and we ſhould form no juſt idea of its height were it not for the Church of S. Gregory neſtling cloſe to the Cathedral on its Southern ſide, the Northern wall of the little ſanctuary touching the Cathedral wall. The Church ſeems inſignificant, and helps to ſhow us how vaſt the Cathedral is, juſt as S. Margaret's Church helps to "ſcale" Weſtminſter Abbey. The Weſtern elevation is flanked by two towers, the Northern of which is cloſely attached to the Biſhop's Palace; the Southern, commonly called the Lollards' Tower,* is uſed by the Biſhop as a priſon for heretics.

But that which ſtrikes us moſt is the prodigious height of the ſpire. The tower on which it ſtands is 285 feet high, the ſpire, of wood covered with lead, is

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* Well known to the readers of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

208 feet more; 493 feet in all.* Its height was proverbial. In Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, a clown talks of the "Paul's Steeple of honour," meaning by that phraſe, the higheſt point that could be attained.

On our left, on the Northern ſide of the Nave, at its Weſtern end, ſtands the Biſhop of London's Palace. [The name of London Houſe Yard ſtill helps to preſerve the memory of it.] A private door leads from the Palace into the Nave of the Cathedral, ſo that the Biſhop can paſs directly into the grand Church. The Palace, the Deanery, and ſome of the more important houſes in the Cloſe have private Chapels of their own. The Chapel in the Palace has a crypt or "lower Chapel" beneath it, like the exquiſite Chapel and crypt of Lambeth Palace.

Paſſing beyond the Palace and its grounds, we arrive at Pardon Church Haugh. Here is a large and goodly cloiſter, wherein are buried ſundry perſons, "ſome of worſhip, and ſome of honour," whoſe monuments, in number and curious workmanſhip, "paſſed all other" in the Cathedral itſelf. Within the cloiſter ſtands a Chapel, founded by Gilbert, father of the ſainted Thomas à Becket, and rebuilt by Dean Moore in the time of Henry V. But we ſhall turn away even from the chapel and the monuments to ſtudy the very ſtriking paintings on the wall of the cloiſter: for here is pourtrayed in all its quaint horrors the Dance of Death. And leſt we ſhould fail to underſtand the meaning of the ſymbolical paintings, verſes tranſlated out of the French by John Lydgate, a monk of Bury S. Edmund's, are added to expound them to us. But, indeed, the allegory needs little expoſition. Death, perſonified by a ſkeleton, appears in each ſeveral picture, holding by the hand a Pope, an Emperor, a Cardinal, a King, a Patriarch, a Conſtable, an Archbiſhop, in ſhort, all orders and degrees of men: for

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* I adopt throughout Mr. Ferrey's meaſurements.

> "To this complexion we must come at last."

Lydgate's verſes are a Dialogue between Death and the perſons whom he conducts. We will tranſfer a ſingle example to our tablets. Death leads along a merchant, and thus ſpeaks to him:

"Ye rich Marchant ye mot look hitherward,
That paſſed have full many divers lond,
On horſe and foot, having moſt regard
To lucre and winning as I underſtond,
But now to dance you mot give me your hond,
For all your labour full litle avayleth now,
Adue vainglory both of free and bond,
None more covet then thei that have ynough."

To whom the Merchant maketh anſwer:

"By many a hill and many a ſtrong vale
I have travailed with many marchandiſe,
Over the ſea down carrie many a bale,
To ſondry Iles more then I can deviſe:
Mine heart inward ay fretteth with covetiſe,
But all for nought now death doth me conſtrein,
For which I ſee by record of the wiſe,
Who all embraceth litle ſhal conſtrein." *

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* Dugdale, p. 423. Should we not read *contein* inſtead of *conſtrein* in the laſt line: and, perhaps, *long* inſtead of *ſtrong* in the firſt line?

You will think Dan Lydgate is very quaint, and indeed he apologiſes for his rude ſpeech, as you will ſee if you will walk but a few ſteps farther and read the lines with which he concludes his poem. He says:

> "Out of the French I drough it of intent,
> Not word by word, but following in ſubſtance,
> And froum Paris to England it ſent
> Only of purpoſe you to do pleaſance.
> Have me excuſed, my name is John Lidgate,
> Rude of language, I was not borne in France,
> Her curious miters in Engliſh to tranſlate,
> Of other tong I have no ſuffiſance."*

Over the eaſtern ſide of the cloiſter is a fair library built by Walter Sherington, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter in King Henry VI.'s time, and Canon Reſidentiary: and the Librarian can ſpread before us countleſs and priceleſs manuſcripts.† Here are books on the four parts of Grammar; the never-failing Boethius; books on Medicine by Galen, Hippocrates, Avicenna, and Egidius; Ralph de Diceto's Chronicles, and his diſcourſes on Eccleſiaſticus and Wiſdom; a large number of manuſcripts of portions of the Holy Scriptures, with gloſſes and with ſermons founded upon them; the great commentary of Nicolas de Lyra; works of the illuſtrious fathers of the Church, ſuch as Chryſoſtom, Auguſtine, Gregory, Bernard, Jerome, Thomas Aquinas; ſome writings of Joſephus; and, that claſſical literature may not be entirely unrepreſented, we find in this ancient catalogue, drawn up in 1458, works of Seneca, Cicero, Suetonius, and Virgil. Books of Decretals, and works on Civil Law, are, of courſe, not wanting. Perhaps from yonder preſs the Librarian will draw a few printed books, rare as they ſtill are. In this quiet retreat we may ſpend a long ſummer's day, merely in turning over the richly emblazoned pages. We have not, however, made half the circuit of the Cloſe, ſo let us reluctantly ſay *farewell* to the Librarian.

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* Perhaps it is hardly neceſſary to add a note to theſe verſes to explain one or two forms unfamiliar to modern readers, ſuch as *mot* for *muſt*, *lond* and *hond* for *land* and *hand*, *adue* for *adieu*, *covetiſe* for *covetouſneſs*, *miters* for *metres*, *ſuffiſance* for *ſufficiency*.

† The catalogue of theſe manuſcripts fills ſix cloſely printed folio pages, Dugdale, pp. 393-399.

The College of the Minor Canons lies to the North of the Cathedral, and Canon Alley to the Eaſt: between the two is Walter Sherington's Chapel, near to the North Door. To the Eaſt, adjoining Canon Alley and ſtill on the North ſide of the Cathedral, is the Charnel Chapel, an early building, already ſtanding in the reign of Edward I., containing ſome monuments and alabaſter figures. Beneath is a crypt in which are carefully piled together an enormous quantity of bones taken from the adjoining cemetery. [The Chapel was pulled down by the Duke of Somerſet in 1549, and the materials uſed in the building of Somerſet Houſe in the Strand. It is ſaid that the bones from the vault beneath amounted to a thouſand cart-loads, and that they were conveyed to Finſbury Fields, with ſo much ſoil to cover them as did raiſe the ground for three windmills to ſtand on.]*

At the North-east angle of the Choir ſtands the famous outdoor Pulpit, Paul's Croſs.† Eaſtward of this we come upon an excavation, and a large number of labourers; and amongſt them a grave eccleſiaſtic. He is very ſimply dreſſed, his habit is of woollen cloth and quite plain; it is black in colour, though the higher clergy are uſually clad in purple. Yet there is ſomething about him which beſpeaks the man of learning: his bright eye, his refined and well-marked features, his carriage and demeanour, his "handſome and well-grown" perſon, evidently mark him out as a man of no common order. We enquire his name. It is Colet, the newly appointed Dean, and the building about to be erected is S. Paul's School.‡ Till lately an "old ruined houſe" had cumbered the ground. It will ſoon be covered by new buildings. We ſee the plans: it will be a "handſome fabric," with "houſes as handſome" for the reſidence of the maſters. A noble gift, and worthy of the man.

We paſs the Eaſtern end of the Church, and as we do ſo, gaze with great admiration at its magnificent roſe window, one of the very fineſt in all England. We alſo obſerve the clochier or bell-tower, which ſtands at the Eaſt end of the Church. The tower has a ſpire of wood covered with lead, and within it hung of old time a bell which has often called the citizens of London to a Folkmote, held cloſe beſide it. It now contains four very great bells, known as the Jeſus Bells, becauſe they ſpecially belong to the Jeſus Chapel in the crypt of the Cathedral. On the top of the ſpire is an image of S. Paul.

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* The windmills are ſeen in Aggas' Map of London. Windmill Street, Finſbury, marks the ſite.

† Paul's Croſs muſt have ſpecial and ſeparate notice—Chapters VII. to X.

‡ It was founded, Grafton and Lily agree, in 1509. Colet became Dean in 1505.

[The bells, ſays Dugdale, were won by Sir Miles Partridge, Knight, from Henry VIII. at one caſt of the dice. Sir Miles pulled them down, but Dugdale adds, with ſardonic ſatiſfaction, that the ſame Sir Miles afterwards, temp. Edward VI., ſuffered death on Tower Hill for matters relating to the Duke of Somerſet. He was hanged, according to Fox, 26th February, 1552.]

Turning Weſtward, along the ſouth ſide of the Cloſe, we are attracted by the high-pitched roof of the Chapter Houſe, riſing above the lofty walls which encloſe it. But we cannot paſs into this encloſure from without; we muſt wait patiently till we can enter the Cathedral, and unfortunately the Dean and Chapter have allowed "cutlers, budget-makers, and others, firſt to build low ſheds, but now high houſes, which do hide this beautiful ſide of the Church, ſave only the top and ſouth gate." Near at hand is the houſe of the Chancellor, and turning aſide, down Paul's Chain, we arrive at a great gate, and ſee within it many fair tenements. One of theſe bears the name of Diana's Chamber, *Camera Dianæ.* The reſidents tell us a ſtrange ſtory, for they ſay that here Henry II. kept Fair Roſamond, and that as he had called her at Woodſtock *Rosa Mundi*, ſo here he called her *Diana*. And they point out to us "Teſtifications of tedious Turnings and Windings, as alſo of a Paſſage under Ground from this Houſe to Caſtle Baynard;" and they ſay that this was, no doubt, "the King's way from thence to his *Camera Dianæ*, or the Chamber of his brighteſt Diana." But the ſtory is not very edifying, and ſo we leave them. We are going into the preſence of one who has little reliſh for ſuch tales, and we will not even ſay that we have turned aſide out of the ſafer precincts of the Cloſe.

Here, too, is Paul's Brewhouſe,* and near to this an ancient houſe built of ſtone, belonging to the Cathedral, and formerly let to the Blunts, Lords Mountjoy, and afterwards to the Doctors of the Civil Law and Arches. On the ſame ſide is another great houſe called Paul's Bakehouſe, employed in baking of bread for the Church of Paul's.

A maſſive chain, *Paul's Chain*, bars the way againſt carriages; but we are on foot, and we once more enter the encloſure, gaining a grand view of the ſpire from the Southern ſide. To the Weſt lies the Deanery, an ancient houſe, given to the Church by a very famous Dean, the hiſtorian, Ralph de Diceto. We are eſpecially privileged, and we will enter. The preſent Dean, John Colet, is a man temperate almoſt to auſterity. For many years he has eaten but one meal a day, that of dinner. It is juſt dinner-time, and we will go to the dining-hall. The Dean is ſeated at the head of the long table, his houſehold and a few choſen gueſts form the company. Grace is ſaid, and a boy—probably he is one of the Cathedral choir, for he has a very freſh and pleaſant voice—begins to read a leſſon out of S. Paul's Epiſtles: at other times the lection is taken from the Proverbs of Solomon. His ſweet voice ceaſes, and preſently the Dean begins to ſpeak. He makes the chapter which has been read the ſubject of his diſcourſe. His talk is grave and ſerious, but never weariſome. By-and-by he changes his tone, almoſt before the company are "ſatiſfied rather than ſatiated" with what he has ſaid. He riſes early from the table, for he has no delight in coarſe ſenſual pleaſures. He loves the ſociety of congenial friends: he will ſit with them till very late in the evening, diſcourſing on religion or on learning. If he has no congenial friend, one of his ſervants will read a portion of Holy Scripture to him, and the Dean will very likely prepare for ſome ſermon to be delivered in the Church or at the Croſs, or ſome lecture to be addreſsed to a learned audience. He never travels without a book, and all his talk is ſeaſoned with religion.

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* Paul's Brewhouſe became at a later period the Paul's Head Tavern. Stow, p. 137.

It is time, however, that we left this pleaſant company. There are divers houſes for the uſe of the Canons at the Weſt end of the Church, and alſo reſidences for the Vicars: but theſe, and the other dwellings ſcattered round the Cloſe, we have not time to viſit. Let us haſten to the Weſtern Portal. But ſtay a moment; the Biſhop, Richard Fitz-James, is juſt entering within the gates of the Palace. Let us follow him; perhaps he may ſay ſomething about his neighbour the Dean. It is rumoured that the Biſhop does not greatly love the Dean.

Colet has ſpoken very boldly in ſermons at the Croſs and before the King againſt the vulgar ſuperſtitions and other errors of the time. He has denounced the corruptions which were rampant in the Church. Even of his own clergy, and of the choir, ſome have been ſtrictly and ſternly called to order for their irregular behaviour. There are thoſe who ſmart under the laſh of his rebuke, and who do not love his almoſt aſcetic life, as that is a ſharper rebuke than his words. But let us hear Biſhop Fitz-James, as he ſits in his ſtudy with ſome of his clergy in private conference. They are talking about the Dean. We juſt catch the word *hereſy*, half whiſpered at preſent. "He has taught," ſays the Biſhop, "that images are not to be worſhipped. That is rank hereſy enough. Shall the ſhrine of S. Erkenwald be deſerted? Shall rich gems and offerings no longer be laid upon its altar? And the Great Crucifix at the North door, are men no longer to kneel before it?" The Biſhop is very angry.

"But that is not all," ſays one; "he has preached againſt the temporal poſſeſſions of the Biſhops. He ſaid that the command, *Feed my ſheep*, was not meant of hoſpitality, becauſe the Apoſtles were poor, and unable to give entertainments." The Biſhop does not find this teaching very palatable. "Why does not the Dean dreſs as becomes his rank? Can he never forget that his father was a mercer? Why does he veſt his ſchool, with its new-fangled learning, in the Mercer's Guild, and not in the hands of the Biſhop, or, at leaſt, of the Dean and Chapter?"

But there is more to come. "He has preached againſt ſome men reading their ſermons in a cold manner." This was very cruel, for Biſhop Fitz-James was an old man, and "had taken up that idler way of preaching," as Eraſmus calls it. The Biſhop loves him not. He has preſented Articles againſt him to Archbiſhop Warham: but Warham knows the integrity and the worth of Colet, and has diſmiſſed the Articles without even calling on the Dean to reply. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* The Biſhop takes a dreary view of the ſituation, as he ſits alone in his ſtudy, when his courtiers are gone—for Biſhops have courtiers as well as Kings—he laments the degeneracy of the times, and he ſees heavy clouds gathering which he cannot diſpel.

And indeed heavy clouds had gathered, and the firſt big drops began to fall, and the diſtant roar of the coming tempeſt could be heard by thoſe who, like Colet, had ears to hear. The Reformation was at hand.

But we muſt leave Deanery and Palace alike, if we are ever to ſee the interior of the Church at all. Yet ſtay, the day is nearly ſpent. We will viſit the Cathedral itſelf to-morrow; and we will come quite early, that we may ſee the riſing ſun ſtreaming in through the ſtoried eaſtern window; and making the chequered pavement glorious with brilliant colours.*

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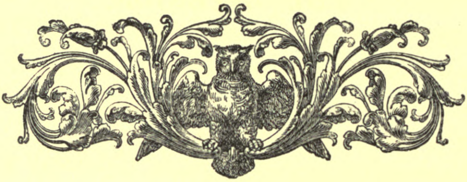
* The authorities for this chapter are Dugdale, Knight's *Life of Colet,* Nichols' *Pilgrimages to Walſingham and to Canterbury,* Longman's *S. Paul's,* my own *Documents illustrating the Hiſtory of S. Paul's,* Maitland's *London.* etc., and original documents.



A WALK ROUND OLD S. PAUL'S: THE INTERIOR.

CHAPTER V.

A WALK ROUND OLD ST. PAUL'S: THE INTERIOR.

WE will now commence our propoſed viſit to the interior of the Cathedral. Let us enter at the Weſtern end. Here are three ſtately gates or entries, curiouſly wrought of ſtone. Obſerve eſpecially the middle gate, with its maſſive pillar of braſs, to which the leaves of the great door are faſtened. We paſs in at the open wicket. What a ſtriking proſpect! The Cathedral is 596 feet in length;* and the breadth, including the aiſle walls, is 104 feet. The grand Nave has no leſs than twelve bays, and the Choir—we ſhall ſee it by-and-by—has an equal number. Juſt where we are ſtanding the roof is 93 feet in height; the Choir is even loftier by ſome eight feet—a ſtriking feature. The ſtyle is very grand and very ſimple, as that of large Norman Naves is apt to be; the vaulted roof is so far above us that we cannot tell its material. Some say that it is of wood, but others that it is of ſtone, as the great flying buttreſſes outſide would have prepared us to expect. The triforium alſo is Norman, but the clereſtory windows are Pointed. On our left, entered from the ſecond bay, is the Court of Convocation; and not far from us is the font, near to which Sir John Montacute* deſired to be buried, ſaying, with touching ſimplicity and devotion, in his laſt will and teſtament, "If I die in London, then I deſire that my body may be buried in S. Paul's, near to the font wherein I was baptiſed." At the ſixth bay, right and left, are two ſmall doors through the outer walls, and you will obſerve that theſe doors offer dangerous facilities for making the Nave a thoroughfare. See, here is a notice againſt the little north door forbidding ſuch deſecration:

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* Longer by 66 feet than Wincheſter. Dugdale says 690 feet, but this is probably an error.

"All thoſe that ſhall enter within the Church dore
With Burthen or Baſket muſt give to the Poore:
And if there be any aske what they muſt pay
To this Box, 'tis a Penny ere they paſſe away:"

and below the inſcription is an iron cheſt to receive the penny; and here is another notice, "Hic ſacer eſt locus." But ſtay, we will not read out the reſt of it. Surely we have ſeen ſomething like it in the Satires of Perſius;† it offends our refined ears: but, alas! ſuch inſcriptions are neceſſary.

Here is a ſtructure well worth our notice, on our left, filling up the whole ſpace between the columns of the tenth bay. It is the Chantry Chapel of Biſhop Kempe, Biſhop of the dioceſe from 1448 to 1489. If you look through the grille you may ſee upon an altar-tomb the figure of the prelate wearing his epiſcopal habit and his mitre. He was a great benefactor to this Church, and rebuilt Paul's Croſs. You may ſee his coat of arms in many places of its leaded cover. Cloſe at hand is the Chapel of the Holy Trinity.

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* *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 124. The will is dated 1388.
† Perſius, Sat. i. v.v. 113, 114.

Obſerve the large aperture in the roof of the Nave. What can be its uſe? An able antiquary ſhall tell us. Lambarde, in his *Topographical Dictionary*,* ſays, "I myſelf being a child once ſaw in Paul's Church at London at a feaſt of Whitſuntide, where the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt was ſet forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be ſeen in the midſt of the roof of the great aiſle, and by a long cenſer which, deſcending out of the ſame place almoſt to the very ground, was ſwung up and down to ſuch a length that it reached at one ſweep almoſt to the Weſt gate of the church, and with the other to the choir ſtairs of the ſame, breathing out over the whole Church and company a moſt pleaſant perfume of ſuch ſweet things as burned therein." The cenſer uſed in this ſtrange ceremony is "a great large cenſer all ſilver with many windows and battlements uſed to cenſe withal in the Pentecoſt Week in the body of the Church of Paul's at the Proceſſion time;" it weighs no leſs than clviij. ounces, iii. quarters.†

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* It is an anachroniſm to quote Lambarde in this chapter, as he lived 1536-1601.

† Biſhop Pilkington alludes to the practice: "In the midſt

Thoſe little tables in the Nave mark the places where the Twelve Scribes ſit for the accommodation of the public.* They have taken an oath of fidelity to the Dean and Chapter. They will write a letter for you, or prepare a legal inſtrument, if you need their aid: but they have ſworn in all that they do to have regard to the intereſts of the Cathedral. If therefore you deſire to take proceedings againſt any of the Clergy you muſt go elſewhere for your Scribe.

Croſſing the Nave, at the eleventh bay on the right hand is the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, Knight of the Garter, ſon of Guy Earl of Warwick. There lies his recumbent figure clad in complete armour, and on the four panels at the ſide of the altar-tomb, you may ſee the armorial bearings of his noble family. The common people call it Duke Humfrey's tomb, although Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter lies honourably buried at S. Alban's, twenty miles away. On Mayday, tankard-bearers and watermen, and others of like quality, come to this tomb early in the morning, and ſtrew herbs about it, and ſprinkle it with fair water. And they have ſome odd ſayings of their own. A man who goes without his dinner (walking during dinner-time in this Nave) is ſaid "to dine with Duke Humfrey:" and, in reference to this ſaying, they have

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alley was a long cenſer, reaching from the roof to the ground, as though the Holy Ghoſt came in there, cenſing down in likeneſs of a dove." Mackenzie Walcott, *Traditions and Cuſtoms*, pp. 92, 93.

* *Statuta*, p. 78.

a proverb, "Traſh and trumpery is the way to Duke Humfrey," that is, is the way to go dinnerleſs.*

The ſmall door on your right gives admiſſion to the leſſer cloiſters. Theſe are really very beautiful and of a rare type. There are ſeven arches on each ſide and, what is ſingular, the cloiſters are two ſtories high, and the upper ſtory, like the lower, is open to the air. How delicate and beautiful is the tracery! In the middle of the encloſure riſes up the lofty Chapter Houſe, erected nearly five hundred years ago,† of two ſtories alſo. Its lofty pointed roof we ſaw as we re-entered the Churchyard at Paul's Chain.

Returning to the Nave, we notice the image of the Bleſſed Virgin, at the foot of Sir John Beauchamp's tomb, before which a lamp is kept burning every night; and every morning, after matins, a ſhort Office is ſaid at this very place before the image.‡ Another taper is alſo kept burning, as you ſee, before yonder Great Crucifix. Hard beneath the North-west pillar of the ſteeple is the Chapel of S. Paul, "built of timber, with ſtairs mounting thereunto." On the South ſide of the Nave is S. Catherine's Chapel, on the North is the Chapel of the Holy

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* Alluſions to this hungry promenade are by no means rare in the current literature. Thus in Mayne's *City Match*, 1658, we read:

> "You'd not doe
> Like your penurious father, who was wont
> To walke his dinner out in Paules."

† Dugdale ſays that it was built in 1332.

‡ Dugdale, p. 14.

Trinity: nor muſt we omit to viſit the Altar of the Apoſtles.

A few ſteps more and we reach the very centre of the building. The long Nave ſtretches out behind us; right and left are the two Tranſepts, with large bold entrances from the Churchyard. The Central Tower, over our heads, is open to the baſe of the ſpire: ſee, what a dizzy height it ſeems! Looking Eaſtwards, however, our view is not quite ſo ſtriking: the Choir is hidden from view by a ſtone ſcreen, adorned with figures ſtanding under rich canopies; and the Aiſles of the Choir are ſhut off by cloſe walls and gates. Not till we paſs theſe barriers ſhall we be able to admire the full beauty of the ſanctuary.

Near the door of the South Tranſept is the Chapel of S. John the Evangeliſt. The flight of ſeven ſteps which you obſerve on the Weſtern ſide gives acceſs to the Chapter House. We will enter. Obſerve the eight lofty windows. Small as the building is (it is only 32 feet 6 inches in internal diameter),* its great height makes it very effective. It is built on the ſite of a garden which belonged to the Dean and Chapter. Ah! what diſcuſſions have been held beneath this vaulted roof. What grand men have ſat in theſe ſtalls, have here preſided over councils—Canons, Stateſmen, Deans, Biſhops, a goodly array!

We will not linger over the tombs, though there are many of them, in either Tranſept. In the North Tranſept, there is much which will call for ſpecial notice. Firſt of all, there is that grand Crucifix near the North door. Old chronicles ſay that it was diſcovered by King Lucius, the firſt Chriſtian King of England, in the year 140 A.D.;[*] but you will uſe your own judgment as to your acceptance of the ſtory. Large oblations are made here, whereof the Dean and Canons have the benefit. It is a favourite object of devotion amongſt the people who come, far and near, to kneel before it. That graveſtone marks the tomb of Richard Martin, Biſhop of S. David's, in the reign of Edward IV.: he had a ſpecial veneration for this Crucifix, and left an annual gift to the choriſters that they might ſing before it *Sancte Deus fortis.*[†]

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* Longman, p. 15.

You will remember how Archbiſhop Arundel ſpoke about this Croſs to William Thorpe, in 1407, when he was under examination as being ſuſpected of hereſy. Thorpe aſſerted that images are not to be worſhipped. Archbiſhop Arundel replied very ſharply: "Ungratious loſell! thou ſavoureſt no more truth than an hound. Since at the Rood at the Northdore at London, at our Ladie at Walſingham, and manie other diuers places in England, are many great and praiſable miracles done, ſhould not the images of ſuch holie ſaints and places at the reverence of God, and our Ladie, and other ſaints, be more worſhipped then other places and images, where no miracles are done."[‡]

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[*] *Documents*, p. 58.

[†] The receipts at this Crucifix in May, 1344, amounted to no less than £50. Milman's *Latin Chriſtianity*, 3rd ed. ix. p. 24; and *Annals*, App. B.

[‡] Fox, iii. p. 266.

Thorpe, however, was not to be convinced. Let us be careful what *we* say; even now ſharp ears may be liſtening.

If the Dean continues to preach as he has lately done, the devotion at this famous Croſs will ſoon diminiſh: and yet we hear that he has ſaid that he wiſhes "to be buryed nyghe unto the image of seint Wilgeforte" in this Cathedral. Cloſe to the Great North Door is a group of Chapels dedicated to S. James, to S. Thomas, to the Holy Ghoſt, to S. John Baptiſt, to S. Margaret. The Chapel of S. John Baptiſt was built by Sir John Poultney, Mayor in 1348, and he endowed it for three chaplains.

Before entering the Choir we will firſt viſit its two aiſles, reſerving its central and grandeſt portion till the laſt. In theſe aiſles and in the Choir we have great wealth of tombs and monuments. If you care for monumental braſſes, you ſhould obſerve cloſely that of Biſhop Fitz-Hugh near the altar, depicted in full pontificals, with his paſtoral ſtaff in his left hand, and his right upraiſed in benediction; or that of Dean Evere, near the entrance of the Choir, wearing a cope richly embroidered with ſaints, and ſtanding beneath a canopy with figures of the twelve Apoſtles and a picture of the Annunciation; or that of John Newcourt, Canon, who died in 1485, treated in a ſimilar manner; or that of Archdeacon Lichfeld, 1496, in the ſouth aiſle, who wears an embroidered cope, and his hands, uplifted but not claſped, are raiſed in prayer. Theſe are all fine examples of the graver's art, an art unhappily much decayed in theſe days, for the recently-erected braſſes are far inferior.

In the ſouth ambulatory I will point out to you the image of S. Wilgefort, on your left as you enter. Here Dean Colet is to be buried when he dies: that, at leaſt, is his expreſſed deſire. A little farther on your right, you will obſerve two altar-tombs under one common canopy. Upon each is a recumbent figure wearing a mitre. Who are theſe? They repreſent two early Biſhops of London, both of them eminent men. The one is Euſtace de Fauconberge, Treaſurer of the Exchequer, who died in 1228; the other is Henry de Wingham, Chancellor of England, who died in 1262. Quite at the Eaſtern end of this aiſle is S. Dunſtan's Chapel. That ſtriking monument repreſents Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who died at his houſe, now called Lincoln's Inn, in 1310. The recumbent croſs-legged figure deſerves attention, and ſo do the carefully-wrought effigies around the altar-tomb.

The North Aiſle of the Choir contains ſome monuments of certainly not leſs importance than theſe. Entering at the Weſtern end, we at once find two tombs of the higheſt intereſt, for theſe low ſhrines, under deeply-receſſed arches, beneath the ſecond window on your left, are the reſting-places of the bones of King Sebba and King Ethelred. Read the tablets over the ſhrines. The one relates how Sebba, King of the Weſt Saxons, was converted by S. Erkenwald; whilſt the other records a prediction uttered by S. Dunſtan, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to King

Ethelred on his Coronation Day: "Since thou haſt aſpired to the kingdom by the means of thy brother's death, againſt whoſe blood the Angli have conſpired together with thy wicked mother, the ſword ſhall not depart from thine houſe, raging againſt thee all the days of thy life, and ſlaying thy ſeed until thy kingdom ſhall be tranſferred to a ſtrange kingdom whoſe religion and whoſe language the nation which thou euleſt knoweth not. Nor ſhall the ſin of thyſelf, thy mother, and thy counſellors be expiated till a terrible vengeance has been taken." The tablet further records that S. Dunſtan's words were fully accompliſhed, and that Ethelred, after many battles and defeats, was at length beſieged in London, and met a miſerable death.*

A few ſteps farther, and another deeply receſſed tomb attracts us: it is that of John de Chiſhull, Dean of S. Paul's, and afterwards Biſhop of London, who died in 1279-80; the arcade in front of it is worth your notice. But I ſee that you are turning to the right, and are aſking whoſe is that monument with a low canopy and an exquiſite ſcreen above it? It reminds us of that of William Rufus at Wincheſter. And you aſk, why is the pavement ſo worn round about this ſpot? Here is buried Roger Niger, Biſhop of London, who died in 1241. He was canoniſed after his death, and his fête is held on the 29th of September in every year. It is ſaid that great miracles have been wrought at this tomb, and the ſtones are worn by the feet of countleſs pilgrims. In 1269, John le Breton, Biſhop of Hereford, granted an indulgence of twenty days to all who ſhould devoutly viſit this ſhrine; and in the ſacriſty there is ſtill preſerved a cope which S. Roger wore, made of red ſamite, embroidered with ſtars and roſes.

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* Dugdale, p. 64.

That is a fine canopied altar-tomb, on which lies an armed figure. The inſcription above it bears the name of Sir Simon Burley; but ſome ſay that the tablet is in error, and that the perſon really commemorated is his nephew, Sir Richard Burley, K.G. Notice the garter around two of the ſhields on the canopy, or perhaps it is a collar of SS., like that which he wears about his neck.* You will ſoon turn from this memorial, however, to that which is one of the very fineſt monuments in the Cathedral, the tomb of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter. It occupies the ſpace between two columns north of the High Altar. Here reſts "time-honoured Lancaſter," and there againſt the lofty canopy is his ſhield and lance; there alſo is his effigy and that of his conſort. I will tell you ſome other time how he ſupported Wiclif, and dared to oppoſe the proud Courtenay in his own Cathedral.†

A few ſteps farther will ſhow you, on the left, the low altar-tomb of Ralph de Hengham, Canon of this Church, and Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas: you may ſee him in his robes, as he is depicted on a monumental braſs, lying on the marble slab. At the Eaſt end of this Aiſle is S. George's Chapel.

And now we will return to the central tower, and enter the very heart of the building. Immediately before us is a fair ſcreen with a central archway: on each ſide of the entrance are four canopies with figures beneath them. An aſcent of twelve* ſteps will take us to the level of the Choir pavement. Enter at once. What a noble Choir! It is in very pure pointed Gothic with a triforium and clereſtory. Obſerve the ſtalls of delicately carved woodwork: over each of the Canon's ſtalls is the name of his Prebend, and the firſt words of the ſection of the Pſalter which he is bound to recite daily. On the North ſide, over the ſtalls, is the Organ with its folding-doors. But the chief object which attracts us is the Reredos with the High Altar in the centre, dedicated to S. Paul; an altar to the north, dedicated to S. Ethelbert, King and Confeſſor; and an altar on the ſouth, dedicated to S. Mellitus. Theſe three altars were originally dedicated by Richard de Bynteworth, Biſhop of London, on March 24th, 1339. Notice, over the High Altar, the "beautiful tablet,"† adorned with many precious ſtones and with enamelled work, and with divers images of metal. The tablet ſtands between two columns, with a frame of wood to cover it, richly ornamented with curious pictures. It coſt two hundred marks in 1309. On the right you will ſee that tabernacle of wood, with a picture of S. Paul, richly painted, placed beneath it. The altars, the ſcreen, and the canopied tomb of John of Gaunt form a ſtriking *coup d'œil;* whilſt above the ſcreen the magnificent roſe window with the ſeven long windows beneath it pours down a flood of many-coloured light. Aſcending ſix more ſteps we reach the ſanctuary, from which we will pass behind the Altar Screen. Just eaſtwards of the ſcreen is the famous ſhrine of S. Erkenwald. He died on April 30, 693, a day long kept in memory in the Cathedral by ſpecial Offices of devotion. He was buried in the Nave. In the great fire of London in 1087-8 the Cathedral was deſtroyed, and the legends ſay that the Saint's reſting-place alone remained unharmed. On November 14, 1148, his bones were tranſlated and placed in a very precious tomb. In 1314, Gilbert de Segrave laid the firſt ſtone of a new and more magnificent ſhrine, to which on February 1, 1326, the body of the ſaint was tranſferred. Canterbury has its world-famed ſhrine of Thomas à Becket, Weſtminſter its ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor, Durham that of S. Cuthbert, Ely that of S. Etheldreda, S. Alban's its twin ſhrines of the Engliſh Proto-martyr and of S. Amphibalus, and ſo, as you ſee, S. Paul's poſſeſſes a treaſure of ſcarcely leſs importance. Clerics and laymen have vied with each other in deſiring to enrich it. Walter de Thorpe, a Canon of this Church, gave to it all his gold rings and jewels; in 18 Edward II., the Dean and Chapter laviſhed upon it rich ſtore of gold and ſilver and of precious ſtones; in 31 Edward III., three goldſmiths were engaged to work upon it for a whole year;* King John of France, when he was a priſoner in England, made here an oblation of twelve nobles; this remarkable ſapphire was preſented in 15 Richard II., by Richard de Preston, citizen and grocer, there to remain for curing of infirmities of the eyes, and the donor directed proclamation to be made of its great virtues. The ſhrine is adorned with many figures, and eſpecially, you will note the gilded image of S. Erkenwald himſelf. (I dare ſay you remember that a ſtone figure of the ſainted Biſhop ſtands in a niche, on the ſouth ſide of Biſhop's Gate.) This iron grate encloſing the ſhrine coſt no leſs than £64. The lights now burning before it are provided by an endowment left for that purpoſe by Dean Evere in 1407. It is really very magnificent. See the gilded image of the ſaint, the leſſer images, the figures of angels, that repreſentation of the Coronation of the Virgin, the cryſtals, the beryls, the other jewels, the ſumptuous painting. All London cannot ſhow you anything more ſplendid.*

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* Dingley's *Hiſtory from Marble*, ii. Introd. p. 132.

† *Infra*, Chap. VI.

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* Hollar's *View* ſhows 11 ſteps, his *Plan* 12.

† Dugdale, pp. 11, 12.

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* At the wages of 8s. a week for one of them, and of 5s. a week for each of the others.

And now let us turn Eaſtward. The ſcreen running quite acroſs the Church encloſes three Chapels: the Lady Chapel in the midſt, S. George's Chapel in the North Aiſle, and S. Dunſtan's in the South. The Choir was rebuilt early in the thirteenth century; it was completed in 1240: a little later the eaſtern part, in which we are now ſtanding, was added, for the

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* The rough ſketch given by Dugdale evidently repreſents one end only of the ſhrine, and that, after it had been deſpoiled of its chief ornaments. Creſſy, in his *Church Hiſtory of Brittany*, publiſhed in 1668, ſays that the body of S. Erkenwald continued here "till about fourſcore years agoe, at which time it diſappeared."

Choir was greatly extended then. Before this period a ſtreet ran, cloſe to the Eaſt end of the Cathedral, from Watling Street to Cheapſide:* and here alſo ſtood the Church of S. Faith which was pulled down in order to lengthen the Choir. The Pariſhioners, as we ſhall ſee preſently, have been provided with a Church in the Crypt beneath our feet. In the Lady Chapel, the Guild of the Minſtrels ſtill meet; they poſſeſs a grant from Edward IV. which records that the brethren and ſiſters of the Guild aſſembled there for devotion. As we leave the Chapel, we paſs by the grave of a notable man, Robert de Braybrooke, Biſhop of London, who died in 1404. He held the Great Seal of England from 20th Sept., 1382 to 10th March, 1383: a vigorous and vigilant biſhop, and one who laboured hard to reform the vices of the humbler people, and the corruption which he lamented in his own Chapter. Obſerve his well-marked features as they are pourtrayed on yonder monumental braſs. He was certainly an earneſt reformer.

Even yet we have not exhauſted the wonders and the beauties of S. Paul's, for we have not viſited the famous Crypt. We can enter it very conveniently from without. About the middle of the North ſide of the Choir we ſhall find a low-arched door: ſome ſix and twenty ſteps will take us down to the lower Church. This is the Church of S. Faith, but the eaſtern part is called the Jeſus Chapel. Three rows of columns, there are eight columns in each row, divide the Crypt into four nearly equal aiſles, and carry the great weight of the Choir floor and ſuperſtructure. At the South-weſt is the little Chapel of S. John Baptiſt, and here too are the Chapels of S. Anne, S. Sebaſtian, and S. Radegund: that figure, looming in the darkneſs, pierced with arrows, is S. Sebaſtian. Over the door leading into Jeſus Chapel is "curiouſly painted" the image of Jeſus, and the figure, wearing her armorial mantle, with her children kneeling around her, is Margaret, Counteſs of Shrewſbury, who lies buried before the image. You can read the couplet beneath it:

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* Sir Chriſtopher Wren found nine wells in a row, marking the exact ſite of theſe houſes, under the Choir.

"JESUS our GOD and Sauior,
To us and ours be Gouernour."

In this Chapel meets the wealthy Guild of Jeſus. It was incorporated by Henry VI., and the preſent Dean, Dean Colet, has drawn up a very remarkable ſeries of Acts and Ordinances for the "weale, poletique guidyng, and maintenaunce" of the Guild, of which he is himſelf the Rector.* They ſpecially obſerve the Feaſt of the Tranſfiguration, and that of the Name of Jeſus, and here they meet in full number on theſe Holydays. Every Friday the Maſs of Jeſus is ſaid at this Altar by one of the Cardinals of the Church; and after that, on the ſame day, is ſaid a Maſs of Requiem. On the Feaſt of the Tranſfiguration "lyveries of golde and ſilver" are "made and given to the Brothren and Suſtren" of the Guild. At Maſs on the day of the

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* I have printed theſe *Ordinances* and other Documents relating to the Guild in my *Regiſtrum S. Pauli.*

Tranſfiguration the Subdean is the celebrant. It is a very wealthy fraternity, for their annual income ſometimes amounts to £400.* Alms for the Guild are collected far and wide, even in Wales, and in the Northern Province.

There are ſeveral other Guilds in the Cathedral. The earlieſt, I think, is that founded by Dean Ralph de Diceto in 1197, the members of which met four times a year to be preſent at the celebration of the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. We have already ſpoken of the Minſtrels' Guild; and to this we may add the Guilds of S. Catherine, of the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that of All Souls which aſſembled in the Charnel Chapel.

And here we muſt bring our circuit to a cloſe: but before we part, confeſs that S. Paul's Cathedral is well worth a viſit, and can hold its own for ſize, for majeſty, for its monuments, its chapels, its ſhrine, its guilds, its ſpacious crypt, with any other Church that you have viſited in merry England.

The date which has been choſen for this imaginary viſit to the Cathedral, the year 1510, has compelled us to omit mention of many grand or intereſting monuments. Amongſt theſe are the ſhrouded figure of Dean Donne, 1631, the only perfect effigy now remaining, ſince the Great Fire on the one hand, and wanton deſtruction on the other, ruined theſe unique memorials; Dean Colet's tomb, with his buſt above and a ſkeleton beneath, 1519; Sir William Hewit, 1599; Sir William Cokaine, with his wife and eleven children, two of them *Chriſoms*, 1626; Sir Nicolas Bacon, 1578; John King, Biſhop of London, 1621; the vaſt maſs of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton's monument, 1591, of which, as Stow records, "a merry poet wrote":

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* It was £406 0s. 11½d. in 1534-5; although in 1514-15 it was only £144 6s. 8d.

> "Philip and Francis have no tombe,
> For great Chriſtopher takes all the roome,"

referring to Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Francis Walſingham, who reſt hard by; William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, 1569; Sir John Maſon, 1566; William Aubrey, LL.D., 1595; Sir John Wolly, 1595; Sir Thomas Heneage, 1594; Dean Nowell, 1601; and others. But the period was choſen adviſedly. It enabled us to ſee the altars and chapels undiſturbed, and the ſhrine of S. Erkenwald in all its beauty.

WYCLIF IN S. PAUL'S.

CHAPTER VI.

WYCLIF IN S. PAUL'S.

THE ſun was ſetting on the life of the Third Edward, when an incident occurred which is for ever memorable in the hiſtory of S. Paul's: John Wyclif, the great Reformer, "the father of Engliſh proſe," ſtood within its walls. If he had no other claims upon our notice, his literary ability alone would place him amongſt the firſt rank of Engliſh writers. Mr. Shirley, the able editor of the *Faſciculi Zizaniorum*,* claſſes him amongſt the greateſt of our countrymen, and ſays that "in his original tracts, the exquiſite pathos, the keen delicate irony, the manly paſſion of his ſhort nervous ſentences, fairly overmaſters the weakneſs of the unformed language, and gives us Engliſh which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour." His tranſlation of the Bible into the mother tongue, his moſt holy life, his reſolute defence of the truth, cauſe him to ſtand out from the times in which he lived, a ſtriking figure, a maſter in Iſrael.

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* *Faſciculi Zizaniorum Magiſtri Johanni Wyclif cum tritico:* edited by the Rev. W. W. Shirley (in the Maſter of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles, 1858) pp. xlvi., xlvii.

Born at Lutterworth, about the year 1324, he was appointed Warden or Maſter of Balliol Hall, as it was then called, in the Univerſity of Oxford.* Here he oppoſed the Mendicant Friars who were drawing away ſtudents from the Colleges into their own convents: "Freres," to borrow Wyclif's words, "drawen children fro Christ's religion into their private Order by hypocriſie, leſings, and ſteling." In 1366 he oppoſed the Pope's demands for arrears in the payment of the tribute money granted by King John. He ſoon began to attack the abuſes of religion, and eſpecially the ſubſtitution of fabulous legends—legends differing only from thoſe of the ancient heathen poets in that they were more incredible and leſs elegant—for the pure faith of Chriſt. In 1374 he accompanied Simon Sudbury, Biſhop of London, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, on an important miſſion to Bruges, where, it may be ſuppoſed, he laid the foundation of a friendſhip which was ſoon to be of eminent ſervice to him. A ſtrange friendſhip enough, "between an aſcetic prieſt of deep piety and irreproachable morals, and an ambitious and ſomewhat diſſolute noble."†

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* The authorities here uſed are the *Faſciculus Zizaniorum;* Thomas of Walſingham's *Hiſtoria Anglicana;* Hook's *Lives of the Archbiſhops;* Fox; Longman's *Life and Times of Edward III.*, etc.

† Longman, *ibid.*, p. 284.

Lancaſter was the friend of Chaucer as well as of Wyclif. This ſtrange intimacy has been explained "by attributing to the Duke a mind capable of appreciating, and indeed deeply loving, energy and intellect, but not untinged by a conſciouſneſs that men poſſeſſed of theſe qualities might be uſeful to him in his oppoſition to the clergy."

Wyclif, who had learned much about the ambition and faithleſſneſs of the Pope, attacked him boldly in his public lectures, calling him, in no very meaſured language, "Antichriſt, the proud worldly prieſt of Rome, and the moſt curſed of clippers and purſe-kervers." The Pope retorted by iſſuing bulls commanding the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of London to take proceedings againſt Wyclif. His doctrine of the ſupremacy of kings was moſt unpalatable at Rome. Horrible hereſies were attributed to him.*

Courtenay, the Biſhop of London, had been eagerly oppoſed to the aſſumption by the Papacy of temporal power in England.† John of Gaunt had little love for the ſecular power of the Pope, but he would have ſided with him if the Roman Pontiff would but abet the Duke's deſigns againſt the clergy, whom he deſired to expel from ſecular offices altogether. The Pope was chiefly concerned that the Papal treaſury ſhould be repleniſhed. Courtenay and John of Gaunt, agreed on ſome points, found themſelves ſtrongly oppoſed on the queſtion of the ſtatus of the clergy. The clergy were the lawyers of the day; they held the high offices of state; great political power was in their hands, and a ſtrong feeling was ſpringing up amongſt the people that ſpiritual perſons ſhould be limited to ſpiritual work. On this point the Biſhop of London and the Duke ranged themſelves on oppoſite ſides. "Lancaſter, feudal to the core, reſented the official arrogance of the prelates, and the large ſhare which they drew to themſelves of the temporal power. Wyclif dreamt of reſtoring, by apoſtolical poverty, its long-loſt apoſtolical purity to the clergy. From points ſo oppoſite, and with aims ſo contradictory, were they united to reduce the wealth and humble the pride of the Engliſh hierarchy."* But, as Canon Stubbs obſerves, although "Apoſtolic poverty for the clergy was the idea which they had in common, it was recommended to the two by very different reaſons."† John of Gaunt looked upon Wyclif and his teaching as tools and weapons for the humiliation of the clergy, and particularly of the prelates.

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* See Harpſfeld, *Hiſtoria Wicliffiana; Hiſtoria Anglicana Eccleſiaſtica*, p. 724.

† Hook, *Lives of the Archbiſhops*, iv. pp. 321-324.

Preſently Courtenay ſummons Wyclif to appear before himſelf and before the Metropolitan on a charge of hereſy. The accuſations againſt the great Reformer are of a political rather than of a doctrinal character. Nothing is ſaid of his opinions on the Incarnation, nothing as to his views concerning the imperiſhability of matter, nothing about the tenets of

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* Dr. Shirley, *Faſciculus Zizaniorum*, p. xxvi.

† Canon Stubbs, *Conſtitutional Hiſtory*, ii. pp. 474-477.

Bradwardine. "The object of the proſecution was to proclaim to the world that ſociety was endangered by the political principles which John of Gaunt was putting in practice againſt the Church." *

On the 23rd of February, 1377,† Wyclif obeyed the ſummons, and appeared before his judges in S. Paul's. Let us try to realiſe the ſcene. At an early hour prelates and nobles had aſſembled in Our Lady's Chapel, eaſtward of the High Altar. "Dukes and barons were ſitting together with the Archbiſhops and other Biſhops." ‡ A ſhout is heard, a crowd ruſhes in tumultuouſly, Wyclif has arrived. He comes, not unattended. John of Gaunt is by his ſide, and ſo is the newly-appointed Earl Marſhal, Lord Percy. Four bachelors of divinity, one from each order of friars, are alſo with him, as Fox affirms, to aid him with their advice. The Duke of Lancaſter has ſelected them, for Wyclif will ſurely need ſage counſel. There is a denſe crowd, "a main preſs of people," filling the church. "Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the lords, for all the puiſſance of the High Marſhal, unneth with great difficulty could get way through." The Lord Percy had much ado to break through the crowd, and that not without noiſe and tumult and grave offence to the citizens. What right had the Earl Marſhal to iſſue orders in the Cathedral at all? They would protect their Biſhop.

Courtenay was popular amongſt the Londoners.

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* *Faſciculus*, etc., p. xxvii.

† *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. Fox ſays that the day was Thurſday, Feb. 19, ii. p. 800, and note, p. 919.

‡ Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ii. p. 801.

He had gone ſo far as to allow the Pope's bull excommunicating the Florentines to be publiſhed at Paul's Croſs, and had himſelf ſpoken imprudent words in a ſermon there. The rabble had forthwith proceeded to plunder the houſes of the rich Florentines, and the Lord Mayor had come forward to defend them. Courtenay was ſummoned to appear before the Court of Chancery, and was commanded to unſay his words. An official, in due time, declared from the Croſs, that the Biſhop had been miſunderſtood.

Now the people throng in to defend the Biſhop. The Earl Marſhal and the Duke ſhall not ride roughſhod over him. There is a great uproar. The Biſhop is offended; the ſanctuary, he ſays, is profaned, the ſynod is diſturbed. A fierce contention follows, and a dialogue enſues,* pitched in a ſomewhat high key.

Biſhop Courtenay. Lord Percy, if I had known beforehand what maſteries you would have kept in the Church, I would have ſtopped you out from coming hither.

Duke of Lancaſter. He ſhall keep ſuch maſteries here though you ſay nay.

Lord Percy. Wyclif, ſit down, for you have many things to anſwer to, and you need to repoſe yourſelf on a ſoft ſeat.

Biſhop Courtenay. It is unreaſonable that one cited before his Ordinary ſhould ſit down during his anſwer. He muſt and ſhall ſtand.

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* The verſion in the text is that given by Fuller in his *Church Hiſtory of Britain*, vol. ii. pp. 340, 341: edit. J. S. Brewer. Fuller, however, cites Fox as his authority.

Duke of Lancaſter. The Lord Percy his motion for Wyclif is but reaſonable. And as for you, my lord Biſhop, who are grown ſo proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you alone, but of all the prelacy in England.

Biſhop Courtenay. Do your worſt, ſir.

Duke of Lancaſter. Thou beareſt thyſelf ſo brag upon thy parents,* which ſhall not be able to help thee; they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves.

Biſhop Courtenay. My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man elſe, but only in God in Whom I truſt, by Whoſe aſſiſtance I will be bold to ſpeak the truth.

Duke of Lancaſter. Rather than I will take thoſe words at his hands, I would pluck the Biſhop by the hair out of the church.

The laſt words were but whiſpered by the Duke, and that ſoftly, in a neighbour's ear; but they were caught up by the Londoners, who were enraged at the affront offered to their Biſhop. They fell upon the lords who were preſent, and had not the Biſhop himſelf interpoſed and ſtayed them from their purpoſe, the ſanctity of the holy place itſelf would not have prevented them from avenging the inſult. It was yet but nine o'clock in the morning, for our anceſtors were early riſers, when the meeting was diſſolved.

The Duke had plotted againſt their liberties. In the Parliament he had attempted nothing leſs than to diſfranchiſe the City of London, to annul its charter, to aboliſh the office of Lord Mayor, to rule the city by a Captain. The Marſhal of England should have power to arreſt in the City as in other places, contrary to the rights of the citizens.* They are highly incenſed with him, and the riotous conduct in the Cathedral ſets the ſpark to the powder. They attack the Marſhal's inn, and break open the gates and doors, and bring out a priſoner confined there, "gyves and all wherin his feet were faſtned, intending to burne them in the midſt of the citie." Fortunately for him, the Earl is abſent. He and the Duke were dining with a Flemiſh merchant, one John of Ypres, in S. Thomas Apoſtle, at Ypres Inn, weſt of the Church ; a great meſſuage, as Stow ſays. Their hoſt was a perſon of ſome importance, and was appointed as one of the executors to King Edward.†

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* His father was Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon.

Inflamed by their ſuccefs, the turbulent people ruſh down to the Duke's Palace, the Savoy, hoping there to find their prey. On their way they encounter an unhappy prieſt who ſays that Sir Peter de la Mare,‡ whom they thought to be impriſoned in Lord Percy's Inn, was a traitor, and was worthy to be hanged. Whereupon they all cried out, "This is Percy ; this is the traytour of England. His ſpeech bewrayeth him, though hee be diſguiſed in apparell."§ Then they all ran upon him, ſtriving who ſhould give him his death-ſtroke; and they beat him ſo ſavagely that he died of his wounds.

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* Stow's *Annales*, by Howes, p. 273.

† Fox, ii. p. 920.

‡ "Sir Peter de la Mare, one of the Knights who repreſented Herefordſhire," who had been elected foreman or Speaker by the Commons. Dr. Stubbs' *Conſtitutional Hiſtory*, ii. p. 467.

§ Stow, *Annales*, p. 274.

The Biſhop of London ſoon hears tidings of the riot. He was juſt ſitting down to table. "The Epiſcopal palace was a place of conſiderable ſtrength; but it was at this time more than uſually ſtrong, for that the Biſhop himſelf lived in the affections of the people. The ordinary routine was obſerved, and at the uſual hour the large family of the Biſhop, chaplains, knights, clerks, and retainers aſſembled in the vaſt and lofty hall. It was a gloomy, priſon-like apartment, ſcantily furniſhed. It was lighted by two large windows high in the wall, and looking into the inner court. In the centre ſtood a long table on treſſels, and beneath was a plentiful ſupply of freſh ſtraw. Along the table were forms, until the daïs was reached. On the daïs ſtools were arranged, and in the centre, for the Biſhop, a ſtraight-backed, wooden-ſeated arm-chair. There was a hatch on either ſide of the door, and near it a large cupboard or buffet, on which were arranged diſhes of earthenware and braſs, with a few of ſilver for the high table; ſilver goblets being intermixed with cups of horn, a few drinking-glaſſes, and jacks."* Information is brought that all London is in an uproar. The Biſhop does what in him lies to quell the riot.

The people had commenced the attack upon the ducal palace. The Biſhop addreſſes them. It is

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* Hook, iv. p. 334. (Dean Hook muſt be held reſponſible for theſe minute details.)

Lent; let them not profane the holy ſeaſon. At his bidding, at his nod,* they deſiſt. They would fain have burnt down the palace. They reverſe the Duke's arms "in Foro publico," as if he were a traitor. And preſently, when a certain ſoldier of the Duke's called Thomas Wynton, a Scotchman born, came through the city with the Duke's arms hanging by a lace about his neck, the citizens, "not abiding the ſight thereof, caſt him from his horſe, and plucked the eſcutcheon from him, and were about," as Fox oddly words it,† "to work the extremity againſt him," had not my Lord Mayor delivered him out of their hands.

The Duke and Lord Percy alſo hear the ill-tidings. A knight of the Duke's houſehold hurries down into the City. He arrives at the houſe where the feaſt was being held. He knocks at the gate and cannot get admittance, the houſehold are buſy at the banquet. At laſt Haverland, the porter, comes: and the impatient knight cries out: "If thou love my lord and thy life, open the gate;" with which words he gets entry. He hurries into the hall and tells the Duke that without the gate were infinite numbers of armed men, and that unleſs he took good heed that day would be his laſt. The Duke ſees the gravity of the ſituation. "He leapt ſo haſtily from his oyſters, that hee hurt both his legges againſt the fourme. Wine was offered to his oyſters, but hee would not drinke for haſte. Hee fledde with his fellow Sir Henry Percie, no manne following them, and entring the Thames, neuer ſtinted rowing untill they came to a houſe neere the Manor of Kenington (beſide Lambeth)."* Here they took refuge with the Princeſs of Wales, who, as the widow of the Black Prince, had great influence with the Londoners, and ſucceeded in pacifying them.

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* Walſingham, *Hiſtoria Anglicana*, i. p. 325.

† Fox, ii. pp. 804, 920.

No word ſpoken by the Archbiſhop or by Wyclif on this occaſion has been recorded. "The former," ſays Fuller, "ſeeing the brawl happened in the Cathedral of London, left the Biſhop thereof to meddle, whoſe ſtout ſtomach and high birth made him the meeter match to undertake ſuch noble adverſaries. As for Wyclif, well might the client bee ſilent, whilſt ſuch counſel pleaded for him. And the biſhops found themſelves in a dangerous dilemma about him; it being no pity to permit, nor policy to puniſh, one protected with ſuch potent patrons. Yea, in the iſſue of this ſynod, they only commanded him to forbear hereafter from preaching or writing his doctrines; and how far he promiſed conformity to their injunctions doth not appear."†

Theſe were troublous times. There was a dangerous diſcord at Rome. Urban VI., and Clement VII.—the one at Rome, the other at Avignon—ſtruggling for the maſtery. "Peter's chair was like to be broken betwixt two ſitting down at once;" as honeſt Fuller puts it.

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* Stow, *Annales.*

† Fuller, *Church Hiſtory*, ii. p. 342.

A few days more, and Edward III. lay dead. He was in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. On the 21ſt of June he died, at his palace at Shene, deſerted by all, even by Alice Perrers, who, before ſhe fled, ſtole the very rings from the fingers of the dying man. A certain prieſt alone, of all the courtiers and attendants, ſtood by that ſolitary deathbed, and offered to the quivering lips the figure of the Crucified. The dying King devoutly kiſſed the feet of the image, and ſought for pardon from his offended God and from all whom he had wronged: and ſo, alone, but for this faithful chaplain, breathed out his ſoul.* Let us hope that he found the pardon which he ſought. His later ſins may be the more eaſily forgiven, when it is remembered that he was mentally and phyſically the mere wreck of his former ſelf.

About one-and-forty years after Wyclif's death, Richard Fleming, Biſhop of Lincoln, who in his early years had adopted Wyclif's opinions but had afterwards renounced them, ſent his officers, "vultures with a quick ſight-ſcent at a dead carcaſe," to pull the remains of the Reformer from the quiet grave at Lutterworth. "To Lutterworth they come (Sumner, commiſſary, official, chancellor, proctors, doctors, and the ſervants, ſo that the remnant of the body would not hold out a bone amongſt ſo many hands), take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to aſhes, and caſt them into Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard

* Walſingham, i. p. 327.

by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his aſhes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow ſeas, they into the main ocean; and thus the aſhes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is diſperſed all the world over."* Which things, as Profeſſor Blunt pointedly obſerves, are an allegory.†

It was an eaſy taſk to burn the bones of Wyclif. It was impoſſible to root out his teaching, or to deſtroy the loving memory in which the people held him. Let two ſhort ſtories ſuffice to ſhow that the great Reformer lived in the hearts of the people.

When Huſs appeared before the Emperor, a friend of his, one Stephen Paletz, ſaid‡ that a Bohemian "brought out of England a certain ſmall piece of the ſtone of Wyclif's ſepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this preſent do reverence and worſhip as a thing moſt holy." This is in 1416.

George Bull, of Much Hadham, draper, ſays§ "through the credence and report of Maſter Patmore, Parſon of Hadham, that where Wyclif's bones were burnt, ſprang up a well or well-ſpring." This is in 1531.

If the bones of Wyclif were to be ſacrilegiouſly diſturbed, thoſe of Archbiſhop Sudbury alſo were to have ſome ſtrange experiences.

On the 14th of June, 1381, the aged Archbiſhop,

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* Fuller, *Church Hiſtory*, ii. p. 424.

† *Sketch of the Hiſtory of the Reformation*, chapt. v.

‡ Fox, iii. p. 484.

§ *Ibid.*, v. p. 34.

Simon Sudbury, was dragged from the Chapel within the Tower by the infuriated rabble under Wat Tyler. He had adminiſtered the Bleſſed Sacrament to the King, and this was his laſt act. A block was extemporiſed—an executioner was found—eight times the deadly axe fell upon the brave old man—firſt it ſlightly wounded his neck—then it amputated the tips of his fingers—at length the butchery was ended. His laſt recorded words were theſe,* "*Ah! ah! manus Domini eſt.*" His head is preſerved in a niche in the wall of the Veſtry of S. Gregory's Church, Sudbury.† He was a native of that town, and a great benefactor. For ſix days the head had been exhibited at London Bridge. It was then taken down by Sir William Walworth. In due time, by a juſt retribution, Wat Tyler's head was ſubſtituted for it. If Thomas of Walſingham is to be believed, his executioner was viſited with inſanity and with blindneſs.‡ Had the King himſelf been in the Tower at the moment when the Archbiſhop was ſeized, he, too, muſt have fallen into the hands of the rioters, for the men of Kent entered his very bedchamber;§ but he was hurried away juſt in time to eſcape from the moſt imminent danger.

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* Hook's *Lives of the Archbiſhops*, iv. pp. 309-313.

† I have ſeen it ſeveral times. Dean Hook ſays that it was conveyed to Canterbury, p. 312, therein following Godwin, *De Præſulibus.*

‡ *Hiſtoria Anglicana*, i. p. 461.

§ Canon Stubbs, *Conſtitutional Hiſtory*, ii. p. 498.

LOLLARDS' TOWER.

CHAPTER VII.

LOLLARDS' TOWER.

EVERY ſchoolboy has heard of Lollards' Tower, but it is not quite ſo certain that every one knows where this famous priſon really ſtood. As the river ſteamboats paſs under Weſtminſter Bridge on their courſe up ſtream, thoſe who are on board are attracted by "a broken, irregular pile of buildings, at whoſe angle looking out over the Thames is one grey, weather-beaten tower. The broken pile is the Archiepiſcopal Palace of Lambeth; the grey, weather-beaten building is called" its Lollards' Tower. "From this tower the manſion itſelf ſtretches in a varied line, chapel, and guard-room, and gallery, and the ſtately buildings of the new houſe looking out on the terrace and garden; whilſt the Great Hall, in which the Library has now found a home, is the low, pictureſque building which reaches ſouthward along the river to the gate." On the river face of the tower is a ſmall vacant niche, once filled, it is ſaid, by a ſtatue of

S. Thomas à Becket, to which the watermen were wont to uncover their heads as they paſſed along the ſilent highway. At the baſe of the tower is a chamber, and in its centre " ſtands a large oaken pillar, to which the room owes its name of the *Poſt-Room*, and to which ſomewhat mythical tradition aſſerts Lollards to have been tied when they were 'examined' by the whip." Is this really Lollards' Tower? No—it is not. " Dr. Maitland has ſhown that the common name reſts on a mere error, and that the Lollards' Tower which meets us ſo grimly in the pages of Fox was really a Weſtern Tower of S. Paul's. But, as in ſo many other inſtances, the popular voice ſhowed a ſingular hiſtorical tact in its miſtake: the tower which Chichele raiſed marked more than any other, in the very date of its erection, the new age of perſecution on which England was to enter. . . . It is ſtrange to think how ſoon England anſwered to the challenge that Lollards' Tower flung out over the Thames. The white maſonry had hardly grown grey under the buffetings of a hundred years ere Lollard was no longer a word of ſhame, and the reformation that Wyclif had begun ſat enthroned within the walls of the chapel where he had battled for his life."*

Dr. Maitland, the late learned Librarian at Lambeth Palace, is careful to correct the popular error on this ſubject. Lollards' Tower, he ſays, was "the Biſhop of London's priſon at S. Paul's ;" and he adds, " I mention this becauſe the name has been (only, I believe, in recent times), and quite improperly, applied to one of the Towers of Lambeth Palace."* It is very difficult, however, to root out a popular error, and the miſtake is conſtantly repeated even at the preſent time.

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* J. R. Green's ſingularly graceful Eſſays on *Lambeth and the Archbiſhops* in his *Stray Studies*, pp. 109, 114, 120.

No reader of Stow's *Survey* ought to have had any doubt about the matter. He ſays, in his account of the Cathedral, that "at either corner of this weſt end is, alſo of ancient building, a ſtrong tower of ſtone, made for bell towers: the one of them, to wit, next to the Palace, is at this preſent to the uſe of the ſame Palace; the other, towards the ſouth, is called the Lowlardes' Tower, and hath been uſed as the Biſhop's Priſon, for ſuch as were detected for opinions in religion, contrary to the faith of the Church. . . . Adjoining to this Lowlardes' Tower is the pariſh church of S. Gregory."†

Are there any views of Lollards' Tower ſtill extant? This is a queſtion ſomewhat difficult to anſwer. In Hollar's grand view of the weſtern façade of S. Paul's are two low towers flanking the weſt front, but they are "little more than turrets, of a baſtard Italian ſtyle."‡ Perhaps the Tower is exhibited in Aggas' *Map*, but one can hardly be ſure that what is ſeen is not the tower of S. Gregory's Church. Perhaps it is ſhown in Van den Wyngaerde's drawing taken in 1540, but in a bird's-eye view the outlines are apt to be vague. One Thomas Stilman appears to have ſaid, "that he, being in Lollards' Tower, did climb up the ſteeple where the bells were, and there, cutting the bell-ropes, did tie two of them together, and ſo by them ſlipped down into Paul's Churchyard, and eſcaped."* From which we may infer that Lollards' Tower was certainly a bell-tower, and probably a clock-tower alſo; and, in fact, a clock-face is ſhown on the weſtern front of the Tower in Hollar's view of Inigo Jones' Portico.

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* *Eſſays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England.* Note on the *Examination of Thomas Green*, p. 24.

† Stow's *Survey*, edited by Thoms, p. 138; and Strype's *Stow*, i. p. 708.

‡ Mr. Edmund B. Ferrey in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, i. p. 509.

In Fox's *Acts and Monuments*† are two woodcuts which purport to repreſent the interior of this famous Priſon. The firſt of theſe depicts the unfortunate Richard Hun, of whom more will be ſaid preſently, hanging from a beam in his cell. If the gaoler's height may be taken as ſix feet, and if we then uſe him as a ſtandard of meaſurement, the dungeon would be about nine feet wide and eight feet high. The furniture conſiſts of a bed with a bolſter, a ſtool, and the ſtocks, which really ſtood "about ſeven or eight foot from the place where Hun was hanged." The ſtocks would hold four perſons. The ſecond woodcut probably repreſents another cell. The inevitable ſtocks ſtill form a prominent feature, but this time they are large enough to hold ſix perſons. It is quite poſſible that both theſe woodcuts are purely works of the imagination; for it is not likely that viſitors were admitted to take ſketches in the priſon : and it is certain that, as in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, ſo in the *Acts and Monuments*, the ſame woodcut often repreſents individuals widely ſeparated in date and in ſtation. Truſting to the ſhort memory or the uncritical temper of his readers, Fox is bold enough to employ the ſame woodcut at leaſt a dozen times to depict different perſons : but I do not obſerve that *theſe* two woodcuts are repeated, a circumſtance which may be taken, perhaps, as a note of truth. No doubt many a poor captive, if he eſcaped alive from his priſon houſe, would carry away with him an indelible image of the narrow walls that had echoed back his prayers and ſighs. His deſcriptions would be vivid enough to guide the artiſt's pencil.

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* Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iv. p. 230, in 1518-21.

† In the edition printed in 1641, ii. p. 15; iii. p. 413.

The contiguity of a Priſon to the Church ſeems to modern ideas moſt incongruous ; but our forefathers do not appear to have ſhared this view. The famous priſon in Lambeth Palace is reached by a rude ſtair, to which acceſs is gained through a doorway hard by the graceful arch which gives entrance to the Chapel. The maſſive oak door ſtudded with nails probably prevented the ſweet ſounds of choral hymns from reaching the ears of the wretched captives, and the ſeven iron rings bolted into the wall ſtill remain to tell the ſad tale of their miſerable bondage.

The ſtocks in the dungeon at S. Paul's had a very evil reputation. In a rare tract entitled the *Lyfe and Death of John Story*, 1571, reprinted in the Somers' *Collection of Tracts*,* are ſome remarkable details about them. The writer ſays that Dr. Story "was committed to the Lollardes tower in Powles . . . . but he lacked there one thing, which was the monſtrous and houge ſtockes, that he and Boner, his old faithful friend, had uſed to turmoyle and perſecute the poore and innocent Chriſtians in, hanging ſome therin by the heles ſo high, that only their heads laye on the ground. Some were ſtocked in both feet and armes, ſome alſo were ſtocked by both their feet and by both their thombes, and ſo did hang in the ſtockes. And ſome also were ſtocked by both theyre fete, and chyned by the necke wyth collars of iron made faſt behynde theim to a poſt in the wall, and ſuch other develiſhe and tyrannus engynes and devyſes by hym practiſed. Theſe at his beinge in the Lollardes tower he myſſed, and great pitie it was that he had not taſted of theym; but alack the good biſhop Gryndall, late biſhop of London, had brent and conſumed theym with fire."

Certainly, if the writer repreſents the public opinion of his day, there was little difference between the contending parties as to their love for the dungeon and the ſtocks. It is very likely that the ſtocks were conſumed in 1561, in the ſecond year of Grindal's epiſcopate, in the great fire which deſtroyed the lofty ſpire of the Cathedral.

A very graphic account of this part of S. Paul's is to be found in the *Examinations and Writings* of

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* Vol. i. p. 477, edit. 1809. I am indebted to Mr. Solly for this intereſting paſſage. *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, x. p. 474.

John Philpot;* he ſhall tell his ſtory in his own words: "And he [Biſhop Bonner] followed me, calling the keeper aſide, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to ſearch me (as the ſequel did declare), and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to ſee me placed. And afterwards I paſſed through Pauls up to the Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the Weſt ſide of Pauls through the wall, and paſſing through ſix or ſeven doors came to my lodging through many ſtraits: where I called to remembrance that *ſtrait is the way to heaven.* And it is in a tower, right on the other ſide of Lollards' Tower, as high almoſt as the battlement of Pauls, eight feet of breadth and thirteen of length, and almoſt over the priſon where I was before, having a window opening toward the eaſt, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houſes, but ſee no man paſſing into them: and whoſo walketh in the biſhop's outer gallery going to his chapel may ſee my window, and me ſtanding in the ſame." From this paſſage it would appear that the Northern Tower as well as the Southern was uſed as a priſon: the Northern Tower cloſely adjoined the Biſhop's Palace.

Thoſe who had once taſted the rigours of this priſon retained an indelible recollection of its horrors. Honeſt old Latimer ſays, "I had rather be in purgatory, than in the Biſhop of London's Priſon; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat, in that I could not." And again, writing to Morice, he ſays, "I had rather be in it [*i.e.*, in purgatory] than in Lollards' Tower, the Biſhop's Priſon, for divers ſkills and cauſes."* In Biſhop Pilkington's *Burnynge of Paules Church*, he does not omit to mention the ſad memories that hung about the walls: "in the top of one of the pinacles is Lollers towre, where manye an innocent ſoule hais bene by theym cruellye tormented and murthered."

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* Parker Society, pp. 86, 87. Compare alſo Fox, *octavo* edition, vii. pp. 647, 648.

Nor were the two Weſtern Towers the only places of impriſonment near to the Palace. The *Biſhop's Coal Houſe* at the back of the Palace in Paternoſter Row had alſo a very evil reputation. Thomas Whittle dates a letter addreſſed to his "Priſon fellows in Lollards' Tower" from "the *Coal Houſe* this 4th day of December," 1556.†

Here one Thomas Green remained for many days (for twenty days, at leaſt, it would appear), and here a bolt and fetter were placed upon his right leg, and on his left hand another, and ſo he was ſet "croſs-fettered" in the ſtocks, where he lay a day and a night. The next day his hand was looſed out of the ſtocks, and his leg only was ſhut in; there he remained ſix days. He was then examined by Dr. Story, Queen Mary's Commiſſioner. More priſoners were brought in: whereupon Miſtreſs Story fell in a rage, and ſware a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of theſe heretic knaves in a houſe, "and I myſelf," ſaid ſhe, "would ſet it on fire." After this Thomas Green was committed to priſon again for fourteen days more. By-and-by we have a picture of Biſhop Bonner himſelf, "in his hoſe and doublet," coming down a pair of ſtairs by the ſide of the *Coal-Houſe*, and looking in at the grate, as one might look at ſome curious wild animal, and aſking why and by whom he was impriſoned. His feet and hands were manacled, and ſo he had continued ten days with nothing to lie upon but bare ſtones or a board. Preſently he is removed from the Biſhop's *Salt-Houſe*, as he calls it, to the Lollards' Tower, where he was kept in the ſtocks more than a month, both day and night.* It was thus that religious people tried to perſuade, convince, convert each other.

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* Biſhop Latimer, *Sermons and Remains* (Parker Society), pp. 237, 361.

† Fox, octavo edition, *Acts and Monuments*, vii. p. 725.

The caſe of Richard Hun, a priſoner in the Lollards' Tower, who, one unhappy morning (4th December, 1514) was found hanging from a beam in his dungeon, is familiar to all the readers of Fox.† It was charged againſt the Chancellor of the dioceſe that he had murdered Hun. Thus, in the *Supplication of Beggars*, it is ſaid :‡

"Did not alſo Dr. Horſey [the Biſhop's Chancellor] and his complices, moſt heinouſly (as all the world knoweth) murder in priſon that honeſt merchant,

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* Fox, viii. pp. 521-523. It is only right, however, to refer thoſe who wiſh to ſtudy this ſubject, to Dr. Maitland's keen analyſis of the whole ſtory in his *Reformation Eſſays*, pp. 18-27.

† Fox, iv. pp. 183-197. ‡ *Ibid.*, iv. p. 663.

Richard Hun, for that he ſued a writ of *premunire* againſt a prieſt that wrongfully held him in plea in a ſpiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth to your highneſs?"

And again, in 1555, when Robert Smith is examined before Biſhop Bonner,* he ſpeaks of—

"Maſter Hun, whom your predeceſſor cauſed to be thruſt in at the noſe with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and ſaid the ſame Hun to have hanged himſelf."

To whom Bonner fiercely replies:

"Ah! ye are a generation of liars, there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths."

Fox prints at conſiderable length *The Verdict of the Inqueſt* which was called to examine into the cauſes of Hun's death, together with the depoſitions of many witneſſes. The jury, which conſiſted of twenty-four men, gave it as their verdict that the ſaid Richard Hun was "feloniouſly killed and murdered" by the Chancellor, William Horſey, clerk, and one Charles Joſeph, ſumner, and John Spalding, otherwiſe called John the Bellringer.

It is ſcarcely poſſible, at this diſtance of time, to diſentangle the truth from the perplexed ſtories which have reached us. The death of Richard Hun, however, is referred to ſeveral times by Tyndale, and by Biſhop Bale in very ſtrong terms.† Whether he was murdered, or was *felo-de-ſe*, may be left to ſtudents of Fox and Maitland: it is quite certain that very different views will be taken of the matter by different readers.

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* Fox, octavo edition, *Acts and Monuments*, vii. p. 351; and ſee alſo Maitland, *Reformation*, p. 530.

† Tyndale, *Anſwer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (Parker Society), pp. 146, 166, 167; Bale, *Image of both Churches* (Parker Society), p. 395.

It is, of courſe, very eaſy to utter the uſual commonplaces about the barbarity of the prelates and the horrors of theſe dungeons. Our hearts, heaven be praiſed, revolt from the atrocious cruelties freely practiſed by men of both parties under the holy name of religion. We muſt remember, however, the cuſtoms of the age in which they lived and the long-continued prevalence of judicial torture. When Damiens attempted the life of Louis XV., at Verſailles, 5th January, 1757, it is ſaid that M. de Machault, the Keeper of the Seals, tortured the miſerable creature, "un pauvre fou," as Meſſrs. Bordier and Charton call him,* with his own hands. "He thruſt tongs into the fire, and, when they were red-hot, he began ſingeing with his own hands the unfortunate Damiens'. legs, taking care never to pinch the ſame part of the leg twice, ſo that more acute ſuffering might be inflicted." The torturer then cauſed Damiens' legs "to be expoſed to a fire until they were but one ſore: and, as he was ſtill ſilent, he threatened to throw him into the flames." The details of Damiens' execution are, ſimply, too dreadful to be ſet down on paper. This painful incident is cited, not becauſe our own hiſtory does not ſupply horrors enough, but becauſe it would not be eaſy to find a high Miniſter of State ſo late as 1757 ſo utterly loſt to all ſenſe of humanity and even of perſonal dignity as with his own hands to torture *un pauvre fou.* Let us judge as harſhly as you will the atrocities of the period, but let us, in juſtice to the men, whether Roman or Reformed, remember the time in which they lived, and the tedious and ſlow ſteps by which we ourſelves have attained to our preſent light. We, ourſelves, have yet much to learn.

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* *Hiſtoire de France*, ii. p. 379.

It muſt not be forgotten that our own Statute Book contained till the reign of George III. proviſions for inflicting judicial torture. "In the caſe of ſuch as at their trial refuſe to plead *guilty* or *not guilty*, the priſoner is laid upon his back, his arms and legs being extended with cords, and a conſiderable weight laid upon his breaſt ; he is allowed only three morſels of barley-bread, which is given him the next day without drink, after which he is allowed nothing but foul water until he expires. This puniſhment is, however, ſeldom inflicted ; but ſome offenders have choſen it *in order to preſerve their eſtates for their children.* Thoſe guilty of this crime are not now ſuffered to undergo ſuch a length of torture, but have ſo great a weight placed on them that they ſoon expire."* This atrocious puniſhment was inflicted ſo late as 1741, when one Henry Cook, a ſhoemaker of Stratford, was ſentenced to death for highway robbery. "On Cook's refuſing to plead there was a new preſs made and fixed in the proper place in the preſs-yard, there having been no perſon preſſed ſince the famous (?) Spiggott the highwayman, which is about twenty years ago. Burnworth, *alias* Fraſier, was preſſed at Kingſton in Surrey, about ſixteen years ago."* The law firſt appears in the Statute Book, 8 Henry IV., and was not aboliſhed till 12 George III. *c.* 20, which enacts that all perſons refuſing to plead ſhall be held to be guilty. It ſeems incredible that ſuch cruelty could have been perpetrated under the ſacred name of Juſtice at ſo late a date as 1741, but the facts, it is to be feared, are indiſputable. They will teach us to moderate our cenſures, or at leaſt to apportion them with an equal hand.

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* *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. i. p. 412.

The laſt priſoner committed to Lollards' Tower was one Peter Burchet, gentleman, of the Middle Temple, who, in the year 1573, had deſperately wounded and was minded to have murdered "a ſerviceable gentleman named John Hawkings, Eſquire, in the high ſtreet near unto the Strand." Peter Burchet was taken and examined, and "was found to hold certain Opinions erroneous, and therefore committed thither and convicted; but in the end, by perſuaſion, he promiſed to abjure his hereſies, and was by the commandment of the Council, removed from thence to the Tower of London." So far Stow, in his *Survey.*† In his Annals[*] he gives a fuller account of the matter, and enables us to underſtand what the "perſuaſion" was under which Burchet recanted. It appears that ſentence of death was about to be pronounced againſt him "as an hereticke," and that then, "through the earneſt perſwaſions of diuers learned men, who tooke great paines in that matter, hee renounced, forſwore, and abiured his opinions." The attack on Hawkings took place on October 11th; Burchet was committed to the Tower, where being examined he ſaid that the perſon whom he had intended to attack was Sir Chriſtopher Hatton; his heretical opinions having been detected he was ſent to the Lollards' Tower, and examined in the Conſiſtory Court of S. Paul's; ſentence of death was to have been pronounced on November 4th, but he eſcaped this by abjuration; on November 9th he was remitted to the Tower, where the next day he murdered his keeper; the following day he was arraigned and condemned at Weſtminſter; and on November 12th was hanged on a gibbet "nigh to the place where hee wounded maſter Hawkins. He had no ſpeech, nor ſhewed ſigne of repentance, but was by force and ſtrength of men partly drawne, partly borne and thruſt up to the gibbet, where, after his right hand being ſtricken off and nayled to the gibbet, he was hanged." Such was the tragical end of this violent malefactor: the laſt priſoner in Lollards' Tower.

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* *The Univerſal Spectator,* No. 674, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. i. p. 500.

† Stow's *Survey*, by Strype, i. p. 708.

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[*] Stow's *Annals*, by Howes, pp. 677, 678.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1561.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1561.

FIRE has been always the implacable foe of S. Paul's Cathedral. The ancient Statutes ſtrictly enjoin the *Cuſtos Operis*, or *Surveyor*, not only to examine the roof of the Church with great care after heavy rains, but, eſpecially, to be very watchful when plumbers were at work upon it, leſt the fires which they employed to melt the lead ſhould attack the fabric itſelf. Reference has been already made[*] to the fire in 961, in which, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, "the monaſtery of S. Paul's was burnt." On the 7th of July, 1087, according to the *Chroniculi S. Pauli*, "the Church of S. Paul, London, and all things which were therein, was conſumed by fire, in the time of Maurice, Biſhop of London, in the reign of William the firſt King of the Normans."[†] After this Biſhop Maurice laid the foundation of a moſt magnificent pile of which William of Malmeſbury ſays, that it was "ſo ſtately and beautiful that it was worthily numbered amongſt the moſt famous buildings; the vaults or undercroft being of ſuch extent and the upper ſtructure ſo large that it was ſufficient to contain a great number of people."* But ere long this grand ſtructure ſhared the fate of its predeceſſor; in 1137 according to the *Chroniculi S. Pauli*, on December 22, 1136, according to Dugdale, "the Church of S. Paul was conſumed by a fire kindled at London Bridge, which burnt until it reached the church outſide the Bars of the New Temple," that is, the Church of S. Clement Danes.† "In ancient times the greater part of the City was built of wood, and the houſes were covered with ſtraw and ſtubble and the like. Hence it happened that when a ſingle houſe had caught fire, the greater part of the City was deſtroyed through ſuch conflagration." After this fire the citizens, deſiring to avoid ſuch a calamity in future, "built ſtone houſes upon their foundations, covered with thick tiles, and ſo protected againſt the fury of the flames: whence it has often been the caſe, that when a fire has broken out in the City and has deſtroyed many buildings, upon reaching ſuch houſes it has been unable to do further miſchief, and has been there extinguiſhed; ſo that, through ſuch a houſe as this, many houſes of the neighbours have been ſaved from being burnt."[*]

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[*] *Supra*, p. 8.

[†] See my *Documents*, p. 58; and *Statutes*, p. 477, for a ſimilar entry in one of the MSS. in the Cathedral Record Room.

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* Dugdale, p. 4.

† *Documents*, p. 58; and Dugdale, p. 5: his words are, "on the xj. Cal. of January, in the very firſt year of King Stephen's reign."

Again, on February 1, 1445, as the *Grey Friars Chronicle* relates, 'Thys yere on Candelmas evyne was gret thunder and tempeſt, that Powlles stepulle on the ſowth-weſt ſyde mervelufly was ſett a fyer, and the ſtepull of Kyngſtone up Temſe brent, and many men ſlayne." Stow's account, in his *Annals*, is more full and circumſtantial: "On Candlemas eeuen, in diuers places of England, was great weathering of wind, hayle, ſnow, raine, thunders with lightning, whereby the Church of Baldock in Hertfordſhire, and Church of Walden in Eſſex, and diuers others were ſore ſhaken, and the Steeple of S. Paul's in London, about two of the clocke in the afternoone was ſet on fire in the middeſt of the Shaft, firſt on the Weſt ſide and then on the South, and the people eſpying the fire, came to quench it in the Steeple which they did with vinegar, ſo farre as they could find, ſo that when the Maior with much people came to Pauls, to haue holpen if neede had beene, they returned againe euery man to his home, truſting to God all had beene well, but anon after between eight and nine of the clocke, the fire braſt againe out of the Steeple, more feruent then before, and did much hurt to the Lead and Timber thereof, but the Maior and much people came thither, and with vinegar quenched the fire that was feruent, ſo that no man was periſhed. The Steeple of Waltham in Eſſex and of Kingſtone in Surrey was alſo fired by the ſame lightning. The fire at Pauls being quenched, a Standard of tree* being ſet up at Leaden Hall, in Cornehil of London, made faſt in the midſt of the pavement, and decked with Holme and Iuy for diſport of Chriſtmas to the people of the Citty, it was torne and caſt downe with ſuch violence that the ſtones of the pavement were caſt about in the ſtreete and into diuers mens houſes, to the great terrour of the people that neuer had ſeene ſo ſtrange a tempeſt." Dugdale adds that the fire, although "happily quenched by the morrow maſs prieſt of Bow, did ſuch harm therein that it was not ſufficiently repaired till the year 1462," when a coſtly weathercock made of copper and gilt was ſet up.†

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[*] *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, edited by H. T. Riley, pp. 184, 185.

The feat of putting out the fire with vinegar recalls irreſiſtibly Hannibal's paſſage of the Alps, when, as Livy ſays, the ſoldiers of the advancing army having heated the rocks by great fires of wood, disintegrated them by pouring vinegar upon the heated ſtone.‡

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* That is, *of wood.*

† Dugdale, p. 95.

‡ The whole ſentence runs thus :—"Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via eſſe poterat, milites ducti, quum cædendum eſſet ſaxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatiſque, ſtruem ingentem lignorum faciunt : eamque (quum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta eſſet), ſuccendunt ardentiaque ſaxa infuſo aceto putrefaciunt," Livy, xxi. 37. A very curious diſcuſſion of this paſſage will be found in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. ii. pp. 289, 350, 443, 490, 534, vol. iii. p. 136 : where it is ſuggeſted that Livy may have been miſled by the ſimilarity of the Latin word *acetum*, vinegar, to the Italian *accetta*, a pickaxe ; and very unexpected confirmation is given to this fanciful

Lightning-conductors had not then been diſcovered, but the authorities of the Cathedral had done their beſt, according to their knowledge, to avert "the flame of fier," for, in 1314, they had replaced in the bowl of the Croſs at the ſummit of the ſpire many relics of ſaints, "for the protection of the tower and of the whole building."* Amongſt the relics were a piece of the True Croſs, a ſtone from the Sepulchre of the Lord, a ſtone from the Mount of the Aſcenſion, and another ſtone from Calvary. Some bones of the Eleven Thouſand Virgins of Cologne were alſo added, wrapped in a piece of red ſendal. Theſe relics were exhibited to the people by the Chancellor of the Cathedral during his ſermon on S. Botolph's Day, June 17, and were afterwards replaced in the Croſs, together with many other ſimilar treaſures. The Divines of the Reformation period were not ſlow to remember this day's proceedings. "We needed not to fear," ſays one of them, "(if your opinion were true) the burning any more of Paul's. Make a croſs on the ſteeple, and ſo it ſhall be ſafe. But within theſe few years it had a croſs and reliques in the bowl, to boot: yet they prevailed not; yea, the croſs itſelf was fired firſt." †

ſuggeſtion by a communication from the well-known ſcholar George Stephens, in which he quotes from King Alfred's Old-Engliſh verſion of *Oroſius* a paſſage deſcribing Hannibal's journey over the Alps, concluding thus: "So when he came to the ſeparate rock, he ordered it to be heated with fire, and then to be hewed with *mattocks*."

* *Documents*, p. 45.

† Calthill's *Anſwer to Marſhall*, p. 180 (Parker Society).

Amongſt all the conflagrations which have made havoc with the Cathedral, the Great Fire of 1561 holds a very prominent place. We will give a contemporary account of it, and we can ſcarcely do ſo in better faſhion than by printing *verbatim et literatim* a tract, extremely rare, if not unique, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum:

THE TRVE REPORT OF THE BURNYNG OF THE STEPLE AND CHURCHE OF POULES IN LONDON.

¶ Jeremy. xviii.

I wyll ſpeake ſuddenlye agaynſt a nation, or agaynſte a kyngedome, to plucke it vp, and to roote it out, and diſtroye it. But yf that nation, agaynſte whome I haue pronounced, turne from their wickednes, I wyll repent of the plage that I thought to brynge vppon them.

Imprynted at London, at the weſt ende of Paules Church, at the ſygne of the Hedghogge by Wyllyam Seres.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno. 1561. The x. of Iune.

¶ THE TRUE REPORTE OF THE BURNINGE OF THE STEPLE AND CHURCH OF PAULES IN LONDON.

On Wedneſday beinge the fourthe daye of June, in the yeare of our Lord. 1561. and in the thyrde yeare of the reigne of our ſoueraygne Ladye Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and

Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. betweene one and two of the clocke at after noone, was ſeene a marueilous great fyrie lightning, and immediately inſued a moſt terrible hydeous cracke of thunder, ſuche as ſeldom hath been heard, and that by eſtimacion of ſenſe, directlye ouer the Citie of London. At which inſtante the corner of a turret of yͤ ſteple of ſaint Martins Churche within Ludgate was torne, and diuers great ſtones caſten down, and a hole broken throughe the roofe & timber of the ſaid church, by the fall of the ſame ſtones.

For diuers perſones in tyme of the ſaide tempeſt being on the riuer of Thamys, and others beyng in the fieldes nere adioyning to yͤ Citie, affirmed that thei ſaw a long and a ſpeare pointed flame of fier (as it were) runne through the toppe of the Broche or Shaft of Paules Steple, from the Eaſte Weſtwarde. And ſome of the pariſh of ſaint Martins then being in the ſtreate, dyd feele a marueylous ſtrong ayre or whorlewynd, with a ſmel lyke brimſtone, comming from Paules Churche, and withal heard the ruſhe of yͤ ſtones which fell frō their ſteple into the churche. Betwene iiii. and fiue of the clocke a ſmoke was eſpied by diuers to breake oute vnder the bowle of the ſaid ſhaf of Paules, & namely by Peter Johnſon principall Regiſtrer to the Biſhop of Londō, who immediatly brought worde to the Biſhops houſe. But ſodeinly after, as it wer in a momente, the flame brake furth in a circle like a garlande rounde about the broche, about two yards to theſtimacion of ſight vnder the bowle of the ſaid ſhaft, & increaſed in ſuche wiſe, that within a quarter of an howre, or little more, the croſſe & the Egle on the toppe fell downe vpon the ſouth croſſe Ile. The Lord Maior being ſent for, & his brethren, came with all ſpede poſſible, & had a ſhort conſultaciō as in ſuch a caſe might be, with y^e Biſhop of London and others, for y^e beſt way of remedy. And thither came alſo y^e Lord Keper of y^e great Seale, & the Lord Treaſorer, who by their wiſedom and authoritie dyrected as good order, as in ſo great a confuſiō could poſſible be.

Some there wer, pretēding experience in warres, that coūceled the remanente of the ſteple to bee ſhot down with Canons, whiche counſel was not liked, as moſt perilous both for the diſperſing the fire, and deſtructiō of houſes and people, other perceiuing the ſteple to be paſt al recouery, conſidering the hugenes of the fier, & the dropping of the lead, thought beſte to geat ladders & ſcale the churche, & with axes to hew down a ſpace of the roofe of the Churche, to ſtay the fier, at the leaſte to ſaue ſome part of the ſaide churche, whiche was concluded. But before y^e ladders & buckets could be brought, & things put in any order, and eſpecially becauſe the churche was of ſuch height, that thei could not skale it, & no ſufficiente nomber of axes could be had, y^e laborers alſo being troubled with y^e multitude of ydle gaſers, the moſte parte of the higheſte roofe of the Churche was on fier.

Fyrſt the fall of the Croſſe and Egle fired the ſouthe croſſe Ile, whiche Ile was firſte conſumed, the beames & brands of the ſteple fell down on euery ſide, & fired the other thre partes, that is to ſaye, the Chauncel or

Quier, the north Ile, & the body of the church. So that in one howres ſpace y^e^ broch of the ſteple was brent downe to y^e^ battlementes, and the moſt part of y^e^ higheſt roofe of the churche, likewiſe conſumed. The ſtate of the ſteple & churche ſeming both deſperate: my Lord Mayor was aduiſed by one Maiſter Winter of y^e^ admiraltie, to conuerte the moſte part of his care & prouiſiō to preſerue the Biſhops palace adioynyng to the Northweſt end of the church: leaſt frō that houſe beinge large, the fier might ſprede to the ſtretes adioyning. Wherupon the ladders, buckets, & laborers, were commaunded thither, & by greate labor & diligence, a piece of y^e^ roofe of the Northe Ile was cut down, & the fier ſo ſtayed and by muche water, that parte quenched, and y^e^ ſaid Biſhops houſe preſerued. It pleaſed god alſo at the ſame tyme bothe to turne & calme the winde, which afore was vehemēt, & continued ſtil high & greate in other partes without y^e^ citie. There wer aboue v. c. perſons y^t^ laboured in carying & fillīg water &c. Diuers ſubſtantial Citizens toke paynes as if thei had bene laborers, ſo did alſo diuers & ſondrye gentlemen, whoſe names wer not knowen to the writer hereof, but amongſt other, the ſaid M. Winter, & one M. Stranguiſh, did both take notable paines in their own perſons, & alſo much directed and encouraged other, and that not without great daūger to thēſelves. In y^e^ euening came the Lord Clinton, Lord admiral, frō y^e^ court at Grenewiche, whō the Queenes maieſty aſſone as the rage of the fier was eſpied by her maieſtye and others in the court, of the pitifull inclinacion & loue that her gracious highneſſe dyd beare both to yᵉ ſaid church & the citie, ſente to aſſyſt my Lorde Mayor for the ſuppreſſyng of the fyre, who with his wyſdome, authority & diligēt trauayl did very much good therein. About x. of the clocke the fyercenes of the fyre was paſt, the tymbre being fallen and lyinge brenninge vppon the vaultes of ſtone, the vaultes yet (god be thanked) ſtandynge vnperiſhed: ſo as onelye the tymbre of the hole church was conſumed, & the lead molten, ſauyng the moſt parte of the two lowe Iles of the Queare, and a piece of the north Ile, and an other ſmal piece of yᵉ ſouthe Ile, in the bodye of the churche. Nowithſtandynge all which, it pleaſed the merciful god in his wrath to remēbre his mercie, and to encloſe the harme of this moſt fyerce and terrible fyre, wythin the walles of thys one church, not extending any part of his wrath in this fyre vppon the reſt of the Citie, whiche to all reaſon and fence of man was ſubiect to vtter diſtruction. For in the hole city without the churche no ſtycke was kyndled ſurelye. Notwithſtanding that in diuerſe partes, and ſtretes, and within the houſes bothe adioyninge and of a good diſtaunce, as in fleteſtreete, & newgate market, by the violence of fyre, burninge coles of greate bigneſſe, fell downe almooſt as thicke as haylſtones, and flawes of lead were blowen abrode into the gardins without yᵉ Citie, like flawes of ſnow in bredthe wᵗoute hurt, god be thanked, to any houſe or perſō. Many fond talkes goe abrode of the original cauſe of this fier. Some ſay, it was negligence of plumbers, whereas by due examinacion it is proued that no plumbers or other workemen labored in the churche for ſixe monethes before. Other ſuſpect it was done by ſom wicked practiſe of wildfyer or gunpouder, but no iuſt ſuſpicions thereof by any examinacion can be founde hitherto. Some ſuſpect coniurers & ſorcerers, wherof there is alſo no great likelyhode. And if it hadde bene wrought y^t^ waie, yet could not the deuil haue done it, without Gods permiſſiō, & to ſome purpoſe of his vnſercheable iudgemēts, as appereth in the ſtory of Job. The true cauſe as it ſemeth, was the tēpeſt by gods ſuffrance: for it cannot be otherwiſe gathered, but that at y^e^ ſaid great & terrible thunderclap, when ſainte Martins ſteple was torne, the lightning which by natural order ſmiteth y^e^ higheſt, did firſt ſmite y^e^ top of Paules ſteple, and entring in at the ſmall holes which haue alwaies remained open for building ſkaffoldes to the workes, & finding the timber very olde & drie, did kindle y^e^ ſame, & ſo y^e^ fier increaſing grew to a flame & wrought y^e^ effecte which folowed, moſt terrible then to behold, & now moſt lamentable to looke on.

On Sonday folowyng beynge the viii. day of June, the reuerend in god, the Biſhop of Dureſme, at Paules croſſe made a learned & fruitful ſermon, exhorting the auditory to a general repentance, & namely to humble obediēce of the lawes & ſuperior powers, whiche vertue is muche decayed in theſe our daies: ſeming to haue intellygēce from the Queenes highnes, that her maieſtie intendeth that more ſeueritie of lawes ſhalbe executed againſt perſons diſobedyent, aſwell in cauſes of religiō, as ciuil, to the great reioyſing of his auditours. He exhorted alſo hys audiēce to take this as a generall warninge to the whole realme, & namelye to the citie of London, of ſome greater plage to folow, if amendemente of lyfe in all States did not enſue: He much reproued thoſe perſons whiche woulde aſſigne the cauſe of this wrathe of god to any perticular ſtate of mē, or that were diligent to loke into other mens lyues, & coulde ſee no faultes in themſelfes: but wiſhed that euery man wold deſcend into himſelfe and ſay with Dauid *Ego ſum qui peccaui*, I am he that hathe ſinned, and ſo furth to that effect verye godlye. He alſo not onely reproued the prophanatyon of the ſaid Churche of Paules of longe time hertofore abuſed by walkīg, iangling, brawling, fighting, bargaining. &c. namely in Sermons & ſeruice time: but alſo aūſwered by the way to the obiectiōs of ſuch euil tunged perſōs, which do impute this token of gods deſerued ire, to alteraciō, or rather reformaciō of religiō, declaring out of aūcient records & hiſtories, yͤ like, yea & greater maters had befallen in yͤ time of ſuperſticiō & ignorance. For in yͤ firſt yere of King Stephā not only yͤ ſaid church of Paules was brēt, but alſo a great part of yͤ city, yͭ is to ſay, frō Londō bridge vnto S. Clemēts without Tēple bar was by fier cōſumed. And in yͤ daies of King Hēry yͤ VI. yͤ ſteple of Paules was alſo fired by lightning, although it was then ſtaide by diligēce of yͤ Citizens, yͤ fier being thē by likelyhode not ſo fierce. Many other ſuche like cōmon calamities he reherſed, whiche had happened in other coūtreis, both nigh to this realm & far of, where yͤ church of Rome hath moſt aucthority, & therefore cōcluded yͤ ſureſt way to be, yͭ euery man ſhould iudge, examin,

& amẽd himſelfe, & embrace, beleue, and truely folow y^e word of god, & earneſtly to pray to god to turn away frõ vs his deſerued wrath & indignaciõ, whereof this his terrible work is a moſt certein warning, if we repent not vnfeinedly. The whiche god grãt maye come to paſſe in all eſtates & degrees, to y^e glory of his name and to oure endleſſe comforte in Chriſt our ſauiour. Amen.

God ſaue the Queene.

This pamphlet, which appears to have been taken from the official report of the Fire entered in Biſhop Grindal's Regiſter,* made its appearance alſo in Latin and in French. It is exceedingly rare in all its forms. There is a copy of the Latin tract in the Public Record Office, and a copy of the French tract in the Cathedral Library.†

The ballad-writers were not ſlow to diſcourſe of the calamity, after their faſhion. Mr. Payne Collier has printed in his *Regiſters of the Stationers' Company* the following quaint verſes entituled :

THE BURNING OF PAULES.

Lament eche one the blazing fire
  That downe from heaven came,
And burnt S. Powles his lofty ſpyre
  With lightnings furious flame.
    Lament, I ſay,
    Both night and day,
Sith London's ſins did cauſe the ſame.

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* Printed for the firſt time in my *Documents*, pp. 113-119.

† See *Documents*, pp. 203-206.

The fire came downe from heaven ſoone,
  But did not ſtrike the croſſe,
At fower in the afternoone,
  To our moſt grevous loſſe.
    Could nothing ſtay
    The ſad decay :
The lead was molten into droſſe.

For five long howers the fire did burn
  The roof and timbers ſtrong :
The bells fell downe, and we muſt mourne,
  The wind it was ſo ſtrong,
    It made the fier
    To blaze the higher,
And doe the church ſtill greater wrong.

O, London ! think on thine amiſſe,
  Which brought this great miſhap ;
Remember how thou livde in bliſſe,
  And layde in vices lap.
    O, now begin,
    Repent thy ſin,
And ſay it ſhall no more entrap.

Mr. Chappell has diſcovered the muſic to which the ballad was ſung.*

No wonder that London ſhould be called upon to "lament the blazing fire." It entirely deſtroyed the beautiful ſpire, whoſe height far exceeded that of Saliſbury ; great part of the roof was burnt ; the Chapter Houſe and the exquiſite Cloiſters were very ſeriouſly injured. Divine ſervice was tranſferred to S. Gregory's. "The xxiij of June, was mydſomer evyn, the ſerves at Sant Gregore chyrche be-ſyd Powlles [by] the Powlles quer tyll Powlles be rede mad," ſays Machyn. Not till November in the ſame year "was begone the ſerves at Powlles to ſynge, and ther was a grett comunion ther begane, the byſhope and odur," as the ſame annaliſt teſtifies. Huge ſcaffolds were erected with a view to the repair of the ruined tower.

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* *Documents*, p. 211.

> "Have you not ſeen a Hench boy lac'd all o're
> So thick, you could not tell what cloth he wore?
> Have you heard not the oaths of country people,
> They could not for the ſcaffolds ſee Paul's ſteeple."

So writes Edmund Gayton in 1654. The ultimate fate of theſe ſcaffolds will be told in a later chapter.

In ſome *Memoranda* by John Stow lately printed for the firſt time,* it is ſaid that the Croſs fell ſouthward, "and ſo the ſphere byrnt downeward lyke as a candil conſumyng, to y^e ſtone werke and y^e bells, and ſo y^e rouffe of y^e churche, and thorow y^e rouffes of y^e churche all fowre ways, eaſt, weſt, northe and ſowthe. With in y^e qwiers or chawnſylls was brynt no thyng but only y^e communion table, and in y^e reſt of y^e churche was brynt nothing but a ſartayn tymber werke† whiche ſtode at y^e northe-weſt pyllar of y^e ſtepull, which was fyeryd with y^e tymber that fell in to y^e churche owt of y^e ſteple; whiche was a lamentable ſyghte and pytyfull remembraunce to all people that have y^e feare of God before theyr eyes, conſyderynge it was y^e hous of owre Lord, erectyd to prays hym and pray to hym, y^e beawty of y^e ſyte of

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* By Mr. James Gairdner, in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles* (Camden Society), p. 116.

† This was the Chapel of S. Paul. *Stow*, p. 126.

London, y^{e} beawty of y^{e} holle Reallme. A mynſter of suche worthy, ſtronge, and coſtly buldynge, ſo large, ſo pleaſant and delectable, it paſſyd all comparyſon, not only of mynſtyrs within thys realme but ells where as ſure as travayll hathe taught ws in other realmes ethar Criſtyn or hethyn. Wherfore feare we God that ſo ſore hathe chatyſyd us, and let ws well know that he whiche hathe not ſpayrd his owne hous wyll not ſpare owres, exſept we repent owr formor wykyd lyffe and ſerve hym in holynys and newenys of lyffe, with a parffyt faythe in God and parffyt charytye to owr neyghbour, y^{e} whyche our Lorde for his byttar paſſyon grawnt. Amen."

"Within one month after the firing of the church all the fower greate roofes wer covered with a ſleight roofe of boordes and leade, onely to preſerve the walles, floores and vaultes from the enjurie of the rayne. And before the yeare was expired, all the long rooffes wer rayſed of new and ſtrong timber, the moſt part whereof was framed in Yorkſhire, and by ſea conveyed to London; the charges of which worke amounted to the ſumme of 5,982^{li} 13^{s} 4^{d} *ob.* Soe the receites wer fully expended; and yett the two croſſe roofes which ſtand north and ſouth were not finiſhed, but remayned ſtill covered with boardes untill the yeare 1564. At which tyme they wer rayſed and perfected at the onely charge of Edmund Grindall, then Biſhopp of London; whoe expended out of his proper eſtate 720^{li} in finiſhing that worke."*

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* *Annals of the Firſt Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by Sir John Hayward (Camden Society), pp. 87-91.

The ſtory of the Great Fire of 1666, which overwhelmed in one common deſtruction the grand Cathedral and the City of London, has been ſo well and ſo often told, that it needs no recital here.

PAUL'S CROSS: ITS EARLY HISTORY.

CHAPTER IX.

PAUL'S CROSS: ITS EARLY HISTORY.

A PULPIT Croſs, from which the Word of God might be preached to a congregation gathered in the open air, under the blue vault of heaven, was by no means an uncommon adjunct to a church. To mention two examples only, in the City of London: the Church of S. Michael, Cornhill, had on its ſouth ſide "a proper cloiſter and a fair churchyard (not much unlike to that in Paule's churchyard"*) in which a croſs was built by Sir John Rudſtone, mayor, who died in 1531 and was buried in a vault beneath it. The Hoſpital called S. Mary Spital, without Biſhopſgate, had alſo its pulpit croſs, with "a fair built houſe of two ſtories in height, for the Mayor and other honourable perſons, with the aldermen and ſheriffs, to ſit in, there to hear the ſermons preached in the Eaſter holidays. In the loft over them ſtood the Biſhop of London and other prelates; now," ſays Stow,* "the ladies and aldermen's wives do there ſtand at a fair window, or ſit at their pleaſure. And here it is to be noted that time out of mind it hath been a laudable cuſtom that on Good Friday, in the afternoon, ſome eſpecial learned man, by appointment of the prelates, hath preached a ſermon at Paules Croſs, treating of Chriſt's Paſſion; and upon the three next Eaſter holidays, Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, the like learned men, by the like appointment, have uſed to preach in the forenoons at the ſaid Spittle, to perſuade the Article of Chriſt's Reſurection; and then on Low Sunday, one other learned man at Paules Croſs, to make rehearſal of thoſe four former ſermons, either commending or reproving them, as to him by judgement of the learned divines was thought convenient. And that done, he was to make a ſermon of his own ſtudy, which in all were five ſermons in one. At theſe ſermons, ſo ſeverally preached, the Mayor, with his brethren the aldermen, were accuſtomed to be preſent in their violets at Paules on Good Friday, and in their ſcarlets at the Spittle in the holidays, except Wedneſday in violet, and the Mayor with his brethren on Low Sunday in ſcarlet at Paules Croſs, continued until this day." The Edition of Stow's *Survey* here quoted is that of 1603. In our own time, the Lord Mayor and his brethren ſtill meet at Chriſt Church, Newgate Street, on the Monday and Tueſday in Eaſter Week, to hear what are called the Spital Sermons.

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* Stow, *Survey*, p. 75, edition 1603, reprinted by Mr. Thoms, 1876.

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* Stow, *Survey*, p. 63.

A ſtory is told of Biſhop Warburton that, dining with the Lord Mayor after preaching one of theſe Spital Sermons, his hoſt ſaid to him that "the Common Council were much obliged to his Lordſhip, for that this was the firſt time he ever heard them prayed for." "I conſidered them," ſaid Warburton, "as a body who much needed the prayers of the Church."*

But of all the Pulpit Croſſes, in and near London, that which ſtood in S. Paul's Churchyard, and was called Paul's Croſs, has by far the moſt intereſting hiſtory. It is mentioned by Fabyan in his *New Chronicles of England and France*,† as early as the year 1256, when a roll, found in the King's wardrobe at Windſor, which contained divers articles againſt the Mayor and rulers of the City of London, affirming that they had grievouſly taſked and wronged the commonalty of the City, was read aloud to the people. The King ſent John Mancell "one of his iuſtycys vnto London; and there in y^e^ feeſt of y^e^ conuerſyon of ſeynt Pawle, by the Kynges auctoryte, callyd at Pawlys croſſe a folkmoot, beynge there preſent ſyr Rycharde de Clare, erle of Glowcetyr, and dyuerſe other of the Kynges counceyll; where the ſayd John Mancell cauſyd y^e^ ſayd rolle to be redde, before the comynalty of the cytie, and after ſhewyd to y^e^ people that y^e^ Kynges pleaſure and mynde was, that they ſhulde be rulyd with iuſtyce, and that the lybertyes of the cytie ſhuld be maynteyned in euery poynt: and if the Kynge myghte knowe thoſe parſonys, that ſo hadde wrongyd the comynaltye of the cytie, they ſhulde be greuouſlye punyſſhed, to the exaumple of other." The King was Henry III.*

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* Note, by Mr. Thoms, to Stow's *Survey*, p. 63.

† Edited by Sir Henry Ellis, in 1811, pp. 339, 340.

Paul's Croſs, it will be ſeen, had its political and ſecular uſes, as well as its religious. Here folk-motes were gathered together, Bulls and Papal edicts were read, heretics were denounced, hereſies abjured, excommunications publiſhed, great political changes made known to the people, penances performed.

It may be convenient to tell, in the firſt inſtance, what is known of the ſtructure itſelf, and then to ſpeak more fully of the various uſes to which it was applied. The preciſe period when a Pulpit Croſs was firſt erected at S. Paul's has not been aſcertained. It was ſtanding in 1241,† and, probably, exiſted long before. In 1382, "the one and twentieth day of May, was a great Earthquake in England at nine of the clocke, fearing the hearts of many."‡ It was moſt vehement in Kent, "where it ſunke ſome Churches, and threw them downe to the earth." On the 24th of May was a ſecond earthquake, "before the Sunne riſing, but not ſo terrible as the firſt." About the Feaſt of S. Thomas Apoſtle, "great raynes and inondations of waters chanced, ſo that the water roſe foure times more in height then before." It was a very memorable year. "The earthquake happened at the very moment when a Council of the clergy was ſitting in London to pronounce judgment upon Wyclif and his adherents." A very intereſting alluſion to the earthquake is found amongſt the Political Songs and Poems relating to Engliſh Hiſtory edited by Thomas Wright (in the Series of Chronicles publiſhed under the superintendence of the Maſter of the Rolls.*)

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* See alſo Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors*, etc., pp. 37, 38.

† See *infra*, p. 123.

‡ Stow, *Annales*.

"For ſothe this was a Lord to drede,
So ſodeynly mad mon agaſt;
Of gold and ſelver thei tok non hede,
But out of ther houſes ful ſone thei paſt.
Chaumbres, chymeneys, al to-barſt,
Chirches and caſtelles foule gon fare;
Pinacles, steples, to grounde hit caſt;
And al was for warnyng to be ware.

* * *

"The ryſyng of the comuynes in londe,
The peſtilens, and the eorthe-qwake,
Theoſe threo thinges, I understonde,
Beoth tokenes the grete vengaunce and wrake
That ſchulde falle for ſynnes ſake,
As this clerkes conne declare.
Now may we cheſe to leve or take,
For warnyng have we to be ware."

Certainly these were very anxious days, and we cannot wonder if the poet ſaw ſigns of vengeance in the trembling earth and ſtorm-rent ſky. The days of Wyclif, of Sir John Ball, of the reſtleſs Commons, of John Tylar of Dartford, of the Blackheath riſing, of the plunder of Lambeth Palace and of the Savoy, the breaking open of the Fleet Priſon, the ſpoiling of the

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* *Political Songs and Poems*, i. pp. lxiv. 251, 252.

Temple, the fires at Weſtminſter, the breaking of the Priſon at Newgate, the forcible entry into the Tower, the murder of Archbiſhop Sudbury, Wat Tyler's inſurrection, Jack Straw's conſpiracy—theſe* were ſtirring times.

Paul's Croſs did not eſcape. Storm, tempeſt, and earthquake had done their work. It was "frail and injured," and ready to fall into utter ruin. The Biſhops, however, beſtirred themſelves, and with Archbiſhop Courtenay at their head iſſued *Indulgences* to the faithful of their dioceſes, granting to thoſe who ſhould contribute to the repair of Paul's Croſs forty days' Indulgence. The following is a literal tranſlation of the original document, ſtill preſerved in the Cathedral record-room :†

"To all the ſons of our Holy Mother the Church under whoſe notice theſe preſent letters ſhall come, William, by Divine permiſſion Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolic See, wiſhes eternal health in the Lord. We eſteem it a ſervice pleaſant and acceptable to God whenſoever, by the alluring gifts of Indulgences, we ſtir up the minds of the faithful to a greater readineſs in contributing their gifts to ſuch works as concern the honour of the Divine Name. Since, then, the High Croſs in the greater Churchyard of the Church of London, (where the Word of God is habitually preached both to Clergy and Laity, being a place very public and well known,) by ſtrong winds and tempeſts of the air and terrible earthquakes, hath become ſo frail and injured, that unleſs ſome means be quickly taken for its repair and reſtoration, it will fall utterly into ruin: therefore, by the mercy of the Almighty God, truſting in the merits and prayers of the moſt Bleſſed Virgin Mary His Mother, and of the Bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints, We, by theſe preſents, mercifully grant in the Lord to all the ſervants of Chriſt throughout our Province of Canterbury whereſoever living, truly repenting and confeſſing their ſins, who, for the reſtoration and repair of the aforeſaid Croſs ſhall give, bequeath, or in any manner aſſign, of the goods committed to them gifts of charity, Forty Days of Indulgence. In teſtimony whereof we have to this preſent letter affixed our ſeal. Given at the Manor of Fulham, in the Dioceſe of London, on the 18th day of May, in the year of our Lord One thouſand, three hundred, and eighty-ſeven, and in the ſixth year of our tranſlation."

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* Theſe are but a few of the events of the preceding year 1381.

† The tranſlation follows, almoſt word for word, the original text. The object has been, not to produce an elegant verſion, but a cloſe verbal rendering.

The Biſhops of London, Ely, Bath, Cheſter, Carliſle, Llandaff, and Bangor, lent their aid to circulate this document with their full approval, in their own dioceſes. Doubtleſs other biſhops followed their example. Unfortunately we do not know the proceeds of theſe *Indulgences*. It is certain, however, that Biſhop Kempe, Biſhop of London from 1450 to 1489, was able to rebuild the Croſs, "as his arms, in ſundry places of its leaded cover, doth manifeſt." So Dugdale, writing in 1658, affirms.* Stow, alſo, ſpeaks as an eye-witneſs, when he ſays that Biſhop Kempe, "new built it in form as it now ſtandeth."†

No drawing of the earlieſt Croſs has been handed down. But if, as Stow and Dugdale intimate, the Croſs ſtanding in their day was the ſame as that which Biſhop Kempe conſtructed, then we are able to produce a fairly correct repreſentation of it, ſo far at leaſt, as its general outline is concerned.

One Henry Farley, "a pious, diſintereſted, and zealous perſon," cauſed to be painted in the year 1616, a very remarkable picture. It was executed by one John Gipkyn. The picture, or ſeries of pictures, is painted on two folding leaves of wood, forming a diptych.‡ Farley had for ſome eight years buſily importuned the King, James I., for the reparation of S. Paul's Cathedral. His painting may be regarded as a prediction of that which actually came to paſs about four years later, when, on Sunday, 26th March, 1620, King James I., with his Queen and Charles Prince of Wales, attended by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Biſhops, Officers of State, and others, heard a Sermon at Paul's Croſs, preached by Dr. John King, the "King of Preachers" as James uſed to call him. We will attempt a deſcription of this picture, but we muſt premiſe that it utterly defies all the rules of perſpective, and is utterly wanting in minute accuracy. When we mention that the Eaſtern Window of the Choir and the great North door of the North Tranſept are both preſented, with admirable impartiality, to the ſpectator—and that the Choir has but four windows inſtead of twelve, whilſt the Nave is curtailed of nearly all its length,—it will be perceived

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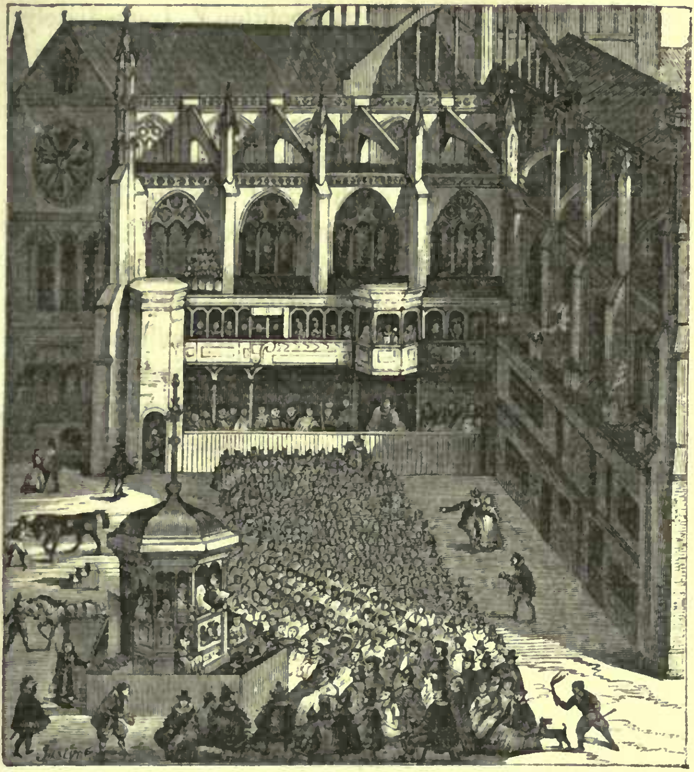
* Dugdale, firſt edition, p. 125.

† Stow, *Survey*, p. 124.

‡ It is figured in Wilkinson's *Londina Illuſtrata*, vol. i. A reduced woodcut from the picture illuſtrates the preſent volume.



PAUL'S CROSS.

that the preciſion which modern critics would require in an architectural view is abſent here. Paul's Croſs ſtands at a point equidiſtant from the N.E. angle of the Choir, and the N.E. angle of the North Tranſept. (This was not, in fact, its true poſition.) Immediately oppoſite to the ſpectator is a building in two ſtories: in the lower of which ſits the Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Aldermen and by the Sword Bearer; and in the upper ſtory ſits, in a ſort of projecting box, the King, with the Queen on his right, and the Prince of Wales on his left. Ladies and gentlemen of the court, three Biſhops, and other leſs diſtinctly indicated perſons occupy the remainder of this gallery. On the right is the North Tranſept, and againſt it are built two long low houſes obſcuring the buttreſſes and the lower parts of the windows: four chimneys belonging to theſe houſes are ſmoking freely. From theſe chimneys the following lines iſſue, addreſſed to the royal gallery:

> "Viewe, O Kinge; howe my walles-creepers
> Have made mee worke for chimney-ſweepers."

Above is ſeen the tower of the Cathedral. It had loſt its ſpire in 1561. Pigeons are flying about, then as now.

The Croſs itſelf is an octagon. It is entered from the back, and is large enough to contain the preacher and three attendants. An hour-glaſs ſtands at the preacher's right. The pulpit-cloth is embroidered with the royal arms. Acceſs to the pulpit is obtained by a ſtair of ſome ſix ſteps, on the loweſt of which, effectually to prevent intruſion, ſtands a verger with his ſtaff. The whole ſtructure, which was of wood, is ſurrounded by a low dwarf wall, within which are ſitting ſeven perſons, two of them women, probably the choir. The building is ſurmounted by a ſlightly domed roof, crowned by a diſproportionately large croſs. Before the Croſs ſits on benches a numerous congregation of men, women, and children, nearly all wearing their hats, and ſome having open books ſpread out upon their knees. It is ſaid that they paid a penny or a halfpenny a piece for the privilege of uſing theſe forms.* On the left a well-dreſſed youth bows and accoſts a grave and reverend citizen with "I pray, Sir, what is the text?" who anſwers, "The 2nd of Chron. xxiv." On the right another citizen in his well-furred gown drops a coin into a large money-cheſt placed outſide the Tranſept door. Two led horſes, a dog-whipper flogging a dog, a horſe-block of three ſteps, a lady and her cavalier, and a few figures ſcattered in the background, complete the picture.†

This is Paul's Croſs. A lofty ſtructure, probably of wood, upon a ſtone baſe, with a leaded roof bearing Biſhop Kempe's arms, and ſurmounted with a croſs.

Wilkinſon gives alſo a ſecond view of the Croſs,‡ "From an original Drawing in the Pepyſian Library, Cambridge." It muſt be frankly confeſſed that it is a little difficult to reconcile the two. Here are three octagonal ſteps, the dwarf wall ſurrounding the front of the pulpit, the ſtructure itſelf, and its domed roof and croſs ; but the architectural beauties faintly indicated in Henry Farley's picture are wanting here.

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* Walcott's *Traditions and Cuſtoms*, p. 70.

† Many details are neceſſarily omitted in the woodcut.

‡ *Londina Illuſtrata*, p. 31.

The Croſs was the ſcene of a great number of events intimately connected with the hiſtory of the country.

In 1241 "his Lordſhip the King aſked leave of the citizens of London, at Saint Paul's Croſs, that he might paſs over into Gaſcoigne to aid the Count de la Marche againſt the King of France, and ſoon after croſſed over."*

In 1252, the King "gave orders that all perſons in the City ſhould meet together on the Sunday following at Saint Paul's Croſs, in preſence of thoſe whom he ſhould ſend thither, and there make oath of fealty to Sir Edward, his ſon, and to his Queen, to whoſe charge he was about to commit his Kingdom. Afterwards, this matter was poſtponed until the Tueſday in Pentecoſt, on which day the whole Commons of the City did fealty at the Croſs aforeſaid to Sir Edward, and in his preſence ſaving their fealty to his lordſhip the King."†

In 1259, "on the day before the feaſt of S. Leonard [November 6], his Lordſhip the King came to the Croſs of S. Paul's, a countleſs multitude of the City being there aſſembled in folkmote, and took leave of the people to croſs over, juſt as he had done before at Weſtminſter ; and promiſed them that he would preſerve all their liberties unimpaired. Upon the morrow of the feaſt of S. Leonard, his Lordſhip the King took his departure from London for the ſea-coaſt. On the feaſt of S. Brice [November 13], which at that time fell on a Friday, his Lordſhip the King croſſed over."*

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* Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, p. 9.

† *Ibid.*, p. 20.

In 1260, "on the Sunday before the Feaſt of S. Valentine," the King cauſed the Folkmote to be ſummoned at S. Paul's Croſs; "whither he himſelf came, the King of Almaine, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, John Maunſell, and many others. The King alſo commanded that all perſons of the age of twelve years and upwards ſhould make oath before their Aldermen in every ward that they would be faithful unto him, ſo long as he ſhould live, and after his death to his heir, which was accordingly done. Then all the gates of the City were ſhut, night and day, by the King's command, the Bridge Gate and the Gates of Ludgate and Aldgate excepted, which were open by day, and well-fortified with armed men."†

Such incidents occurred frequently, and it would be eaſy to multiply references. But our next citation ſhall refer to a more religious uſe of the Croſs.

In October, 1261, the King and his Queen were ſojourning at S. Paul's, probably in the Palace of the Biſhop, Henry de Wengham, who was in great favour with Henry III. In this year, in Lent, "the King cauſed to be read at S. Paul's Croſs a certain Bull of Pope Urban,‡ who had been made Pope the ſame year, which confirmed the Bull of Pope Alexander,§ his predeceſſor, who had previouſly abſolved the King and all the others of the oath which they had made in the Parliament at Oxford."*

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* Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, pp. 45, 46.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49. ‡ Urban IV. § Alexander IV.

A little later, March 17, 1264, the Mayor and Aldermen of London did fealty to the King in S. Paul's Cathedral. "Then," ſays the Chronicler, "thoſe who were preſent might ſee a thing wondrous and unheard of in this age; for this moſt wretched Mayor [Thomas Fitz Thomas], when taking the oath, dared to utter words ſo raſh as theſe, ſaying unto his lordſhip the King in preſence of the people, 'My lord, ſo long as unto us you will be a good lord and King, we will be faithful and duteous unto you.'" †

In 1266, on the Monday following June 25, the Legate Ottoboni (he was Cardinal of S. Adrian, and Pope for about five weeks as Adrian V. in 1276 ‡) laid a general interdict upon the City, for harbouring the Earl of Glouceſter. The interdict was ſpeedily removed. On the Vigil of S. John Baptiſt in the ſame year, Sir Alan la Suche, or Zouche, "was made Conſtable and Warden of the City by his lordſhip the King, in the preſence of all the people at Saint Paul's Croſs." § The following year, about the Feaſt of S. Mark, 1267, Ottoboni held a great Council in S. Paul's, at which were preſent, in perſon or by their proctors, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Priors, Deans, Provoſts, and Archdeacons of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

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* Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, pp. 52, 53.

† *Ibid.*, p. 77, *marginal note.*

‡ He died 18th Auguſt, 1276. *Dictionnaire des Papes.*

§ Riley, *Chronicles*, pp. 97-106, 107.

In 1269, on May 13, nine Biſhops, arrayed in their pontificals, came to the Croſs, and cauſed to be read "a certain Bull of Pope Innocent, confirmatory of the Charters of the Liberties of England and of the Foreſt, which the King had executed unto the Barons of England in the 9th year of his reign; and cauſed to be read openly and diſtinctly before all the people, the ſentence which, in the year of our Lord 1253, had been pronounced in the Greater Hall at Weſtminſter, before the King and many Nobles of England, by thirteen Biſhops arrayed in pontificals, againſt all tranſgreſſors of the ſaid Charters." The Biſhops then proceeded to excommunicate all perſons who had done anything in contravention of the aforeſaid Charters, and all thoſe who had laid violent hands upon the Clergy or plundered them. The pariſh prieſts of the City publiſhed this ſentence in every pariſh church.*

In 1271, in the time of the tumults in the City in reference to the election of Walter Hervey as Mayor, a Folkmote was called together at the Croſs, and it was decided that he ſhould be Mayor for that year "to whoſe election the greater part of the citizens ſhould agree."†

In 1311, 5 Edward II., the King held his Parliament at the Friars Preachers, or Black Friars, in the City of London. The Parliament laſted fifteen days and the Statutes ordained during its ſeſſion were proclaimed at the Croſs, on the Tueſday next after

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* Riley, *Chronicles*, p. 128.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 159.

S. Michael, in the preſence of the Earl of Glouceſter, the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, and other lords of the King's Council.*

In 1378 the Biſhop of London publicly excommunicated at Paul's Croſs the murderers of one Robert Hawle. The ſtory is ſufficiently tragical, and can hardly be ſo well told as in the words of Dean Stanley.† "During the campaign of the Black Prince in the North of Spain, two of his knights, Shackle and Hawle, had taken priſoner a Spaniſh Count. He returned home for his ranſom, leaving his ſon in his place. The ranſom never came, and the young Count continued in captivity. He had, however, a powerful friend at Court, John of Gaunt, who, in right of his wife, claimed the crown of Caſtile, and in virtue of this Spaniſh royalty demanded the liberty of the young Spaniard. The Engliſh captors refuſed to part with ſo valuable a prize. John of Gaunt, with a high hand, impriſoned them in the Tower, whence they eſcaped and took ſanctuary at Weſtminſter. They were purſued by Alan Boxhall, Conſtable of the Tower, and Sir Ralph Ferrers, with fifty armed men. It was a day long remembered in the Abbey—the 11th of Auguſt, the feſtival of S. Taurinus. The two knights, probably for greater ſecurity, had fled not merely into the Abbey, but into the Choir itſelf. It was the moment of the celebration of High Maſs. The Deacon had juſt reached the words of the Goſpel of the day, 'If the goodman of the houſe had known what time the thief would appear,' when the claſh of arms was heard, and the purſuers, regardleſs of time or place, burſt in upon the ſervice. Shackle eſcaped, but Hawle was intercepted. Twice he fled round the Choir, with his enemies hacking at him as he ran, and pierced with twelve wounds, he ſank dead in front of the Prior's Stall, that is, at the north ſide of the entrance of the Choir. His ſervant and one of the monks fell with him. He was regarded as a martyr to the injured rights of the Abbey, and obtained the honour (at that time unuſual) of burial within its walls—the firſt who was laid, ſo far as we know, in the South Tranſept; to be followed a few years later by Chaucer, who was interred at his feet. . . . The Abbey was ſhut up for four months, and Parliament was ſuſpended, leſt its aſſembly ſhould be polluted by ſitting within the deſecrated precincts." The Archbiſhops and Biſhops excommunicated the two chief aſſailants, and the excommunication was repeated every Wedneſday and Friday by the Biſhop of London at S. Paul's. No doubt there were grave reaſons for ſuch denunciations. If the ancient right of ſanctuary of the Abbey had thus been violated, the rude hands of violent and wicked men might ſoon profane the ſhrine of the ſainted Erkenwald himſelf.

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* Riley, *Chronicles*, pp. 224, 225.

† *Weſtminſter Abbey*, third edition, pp. 407-409. See alſo a graphic account in Walſingham, *Hiſtoria Anglicana*, i. pp. 375-378.

In 1483 the unhappy Jane Shore was accuſed by the Lord Protector of going about to bewitch him, and "that ſhe was of councell with the Lord Chamberlaine to deſtroy him." She was ſpoiled of all her goods and caſt into priſon. But Stow* may be left to tell us the reſt of the ſad ſtory. The Protector "(as a good continent Prince, cleane and faultleſſe of himſelfe, sent out of heaven into the vicious world for the amendment of men's manners) hee cauſed the Biſhop of London to put her to open penance, going before the Croſſe in proceſſion upon a Sunday with a taper in her hand. In which ſhe went, in countenance and pace demure, ſo womanly; and albeit ſhe were out of all aray ſaue her Kirtle onely, yet went ſhe ſo ſaire and louely, namely while the wondering of the people caſt a comely red in her cheekes (of which ſhee before had moſt miſſe) that her great ſhame wanne her much praiſe, among thoſe that were more amorous of her body then curious of her ſoule. And many good folke alſo that hated her liuing, and were glad to ſee ſinne corrected: yet pittied they more her penance then reioyced therein, when they conſidered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent then any vertuous affection." She was brought from the Biſhop's Palace, clothed in a white ſheet, with a Croſs carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand.†

Submiſſive, ſad, and lowly was her look.
A burning taper in her hand ſhe bore,
And on her ſhoulders, careleſſly confuſ'd,
With looſe neglect, her lovely treſſes hung.
Upon her cheek a faintiſh fluſh was ſpread,
Feeble ſhe ſeem'd, and ſorely ſmit with pain,
While barefoot as ſhe trod the flinty pavement,

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* Stow, *Annales*, p. 449. Sir Thomas More (*Life of Edwara V.*), Holinſhed, and Stow give the ſame account.

† Moor, in Rapin's *Hiſtory*, i. p. 635, n., edit. 1732.

Her footſteps all along were mark'd with blood.
Yet ſilent ſtill ſhe paſſ'd, and unrepining,
Her ſtreaming eyes bent ever on the earth,
Except when, in ſome bitter pang of ſorrow,
To Heaven ſhe ſeem'd in fervent zeal to raiſe,
And beg that mercy man denied her here.*

In the ſame year, on Sunday, June the 19th, 1483, Dr. Ralph Shaw, the brother of the then Lord Mayor, preached his famous ſermon at the Croſs. The young King, Edward V., had been brought to London and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace near S. Paul's from the 4th to the 19th of May. "The firſt Sunday in May, the anniverſary of that Palm Sunday which had eſtabliſhed his father on the throne, had been originally fixed by the Council in London for his coronation,"† but the ſolemnity had been deferred. The King was removed to the Tower, and June 22nd was named as the coronation day. The Duke of Glouceſter had gathered together in London ſome twenty thouſand armed men. He had held ſecret conference with Dr. Shaw, "to whom he utteryd, that his father's inheritance ought to deſcend to him by right, as the eldeſt of all the ſoones which Richard his father, Duke of York, had begotten of Cecyly his wyfe." And he did not heſitate to declare "that Edward who had before raignyd, was a baſtard, that ys, not begotten of a right and lawfull wyfe."‡ Such ſtatements he urgently deſired that Dr. Shaw would make to the people at the Croſs. On the day appointed, Duke Richard "came in royal maner, with a great gard of men armyd unto the churche of S. Paule, and ther was attentyvely preſent at the ſermon." The preacher did not do his work by halves. He declared that the late King "was nether in phyſnomy nor ſhape of body lyke unto Richard the father; for he was high of ſtature, thother very little, he of large face, thother ſhort and rownd." Preſently, as if by chance, the Protector ſhowed himſelf from a gallery; "the place where the doctors commonly ſtand in the upper ſtory, where hee ſtood to hearken the ſermon":* and the preacher indicating him to the people, pointed out to them the clear reſemblance between the Duke of Glouceſter and his father. The text had been ſufficiently ſuggeſtive: "The multiplying brood of the ungodly ſhall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from baſtard ſlips, nor lay any faſt foundation."† The people, however, had no ſympathy with the preacher. He had hoped that when he pointed out the Duke to their notice, they would have cried, "Long live King Richard!" but they continued ſilent. You might have ſeen ſome, ſays Polydore Vergil, "aſtonyed with the noveltie and ſtrangenes of the thing ſtand as mad men in a maze; others, all agaſt with thowtrageous crueltie of thorrible fact, to be in great feare of themſelves becauſe the war frindes to the Kinges children; others, fynally, to bewayle the miſſortune of the chyldren, whom they adjudgyd now utterly undoone." The diſgraceful fact that Richard allowed his own mother to be openly ſlandered and defamed, he himſelf hearing the preacher's words without rebuke, was intolerable to all good men. And Polydore Vergil goes on to ſay that "Raphe Sha, the publiſher of thabhomynablenes of ſo weightie a cauſe (who, not long after, acknowledgyd his error, throwgh the grevous rebukes of his fryndes that wer aſhamyd of his infamy) ſo ſore repentyd the doing thereof that, dying ſhortly for very ſorow, he ſuffered worthie puniſhement for his lewdnes."

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* Nicholas Rowe, *Jane Shore, a Tragedy.*

† *Grants of Edward V.* (Camden Society). Introduction by J. Gough Nichols, pp. vii., viii.

‡ Polydore Vergil (Camden Society), xxix. pp. 183-5.

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* Stow, *Annales*, p. 454.

† *Wiſdom*, iv. 3.

On Sunday, the 24th of February, 1538, "the Rood of Boxely in Kent, called the Rood of Grace, made with divers vices to mooue the eyes and lips, was ſhewed at Pauls Croſſe by the preacher, which was the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and there it was broken and plucked to pieces."* The famous image of Our Lady of Walſingham, an object of pilgrimage of the higheſt repute; and the image of Our Lady of Ipſwich, were brought to London with all the jewels that hung about them, and divers other images both in England and Wales to which pilgrims had reſorted. They were all burnt at Chelſea.† It will be remembered that in one of Eraſmus' moſt intereſting *Dialogues* an account is given of a viſit paid to the famous ſhrine at Walſingham.

Fox is ſeldom more in earneſt than when he is denouncing ſome idolatrous ſuperſtition, and he has, accordingly, ſomething to ſay about this Rood of Boxley. The details, if true, are ſad enough, as the records of what are called 'religious' frauds always muſt be.

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* Stow, *Annales*, p. 575.

† *Ibid.*, p. 575.

"What poſteritie will ever thinke the churche of the pope, pretending ſuch religion, to have beene ſo wicked, ſo long to abuſe the people's eyes with an olde rotten ſtocke, called the Roode of Grace, wherein a man ſhould ſtand incloſed, with an hundreth wyers within the Roode, to make the image goggle with the eies, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to moove and ſhake his jawes, according as the valew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a ſmall piece of ſilver, he would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of golde, then ſhould his jawes go merily. Thus miſerably was the people of Chriſt abuſed, their ſoules ſeduced, their ſenſes beguiled, and their purſes ſpoyled, till this idolatrous forgerie at laſt, by Cromwel's meanes, was diſcloſed, and the image, with all his engines, ſhowed openly at Paules Croſſe, and there torne in pieces by the people. The like was done by the blood of Hayles, which in like maner by Cromwell was brought to Paules Croſſe, and there proved to be the blood of a ducke. Who would have judged but that the mayd of Kent had beene an holy woman and a propheteſſe inſpired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules Croſſe, to be a ſtrong and lewd impoſtor. What ſhould I ſpeak of Darvel Gatheren,* of the rood of Cheſter, of Thomas Becket, of Our Lady of Walſingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which ſtockes and blockes of curſed idolatrie, Cromwell, ſtirred up by the providence of God, remooved them out of the people's way, that they might walke more ſafely in the ſincere ſervice of Almightie God."*

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* The image called Darvell Gatheren was brought from Wales to London in May, 1538, and burned in Smithfield: at the ſame time Friar Forreſt was burned.

Fox tells a ſtory of the Rood of Dover Court, which may well be inſerted here, although the Rood was not brought to London. One Thomas Roſe, a preacher in that diſtrict, had preached ſo warmly againſt idolatry in general and this Rood in particular that ſome of his audience determined to deſtroy it. The people of Dover Court believed that the power of the image was ſo great that no man could ſhut the door of the Church in which it ſtood. The iconoclaſts finding the door open, took the image from its ſhrine, and carried it a quarter of a mile, "without any reſiſtance of the ſaid idol. Whereupon they ſtrake fire with a flintſtone, and ſuddenly ſet him on fire: who burned out ſo brim, that he lighted them homeward one good

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For further details about the Rood of Grace, ſee Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, edition 1576, pp. 182-185.

Hayles Abbey was in Glouceſterſhire. The relic of the Holy Blood was preſented to the Abbey by Edmund Earl of Cornwall. The Commiſſioners appointed at the Diſſolution of Monaſteries ſaid that the blood was clarified honey, "which, being in a glaſſe, appeared to be of a gliſtering redde, reſemblyng partly the color of blod."—Fox, iv. p. 824.

* Fox, v. p. 397. Compare the form in which this matter appears in Wordſworth's *Eccleſiaſtical Biography*, ii. pp. 281-4, where are ſome very full and inſtructive notes.

mile."[*] This was in 1532. The enterpriſe coſt three of Mr. Roſe's diſciples their lives: they ſuffered and were hanged in chains. "The ſaid Thomas Roſe had the coat of the ſaid Rood brought unto him afterward; who burnt it. The Rood was ſaid to have done many great miracles, and great wonders wrought by him, and yet being in the fire could not help himſelf, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was."[†]

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[*] Fox, iv. pp. 706, 707.

[†] *Ibid.*, viii. p. 581.

LATIMER AT PAUL'S CROSS.

CHAPTER X.

LATIMER AT PAUL'S CROSS.

HUGH LATIMER, the famous Biſhop of Worceſter, was a frequent preacher at the Croſs. He was releaſed from his impriſonment in the Tower at the acceſſion of Edward VI.; and on the 1ſt of January, 1548, his voice was heard at Paul's Croſs. It was "the firſt ſermon by him preached in almoſt eight yeeres before, for at the making of the Sixe Articles, he being Biſhop of Worceſter, would not conſent vnto them, and therfore was commanded to ſilence, and gaue vp his biſhoprike."* It would be intereſting to know what were the firſt words which flowed from his lips after this long ſilence. He preached again at the Croſs on the 8th, 15th, and 29th of the ſame month. He affirmed, in the firſt of theſe ſermons, "that whatſoeuer the cleargie commanded ought to be obeyed, but he alſo declared that the cleargie are ſuch as ſit in

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* Stow, *Annales*, p. 1002, edit. 1603.

Moyſes chaire, and breake not their maſter's commiſſion, adding nothing thereto, nor taking any thing there from; and ſuch a cleargie muſt be obeied of all men, both high and lowe."* On the ſeventh of March, a pulpit was "ſet vp in the King's priuie garden at Weſtminſter, and therein doctor Latimer preached before the King, where he mought be heard of more then foure times ſo manie people as could have ſtood in the King's chappell: and this was the firſt ſermon preached there."† In January, 1549, he preached at S. Paul's three Sermons on *The Plough*, not now extant: and on the 18th of the month he delivered at the ſame place the famous Sermon on *The Ploughers*, in continuation of the former ſeries. In Lent of the ſame year he preached at Whitehall his Friday Sermons before Edward VI., then only eleven years of age. The Sermon on *The Ploughers* has been lately very carefully reprinted by Mr. Edward Arber,‡ with a brief but pithy Introduction. Let us liſten to a few ſentences.

Latimer comes from Lambeth Palace, he is reſiding there with Cranmer as the gueſt of the Archbiſhop. Great crowds are aſſembled to hear the famous preacher. He had always been popular, for he had ſpoken from heart to heart. Whilſt a Roman Catholic, and the Croſs-Bearer of the Univerſity of Cambridge, he had declaimed earneſtly againſt the new teaching: now, he vigorouſly defended it. Eleven years before,

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* Stow, *Annales*, p. 1002, edit. 1603. † *Ibid.*

‡ From whoſe Introduction the two previous citations and much of the following matter have been taken.

March 10th, 1538, he had preached at the Croſs, and had ſpoken out right boldly. Though himſelf a Biſhop, he had ſaid that the clergy were ſtrong thieves: and had added that there was not enough hemp grown in the kingdom to hang all the thieves in England. In another Sermon,* he gave ſome curious autobiographical details. "In my tyme," ſaid he, "my poore father was as diligent to teach me to ſhote as to learne anye other thynge, and ſo I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. He taught me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth ſtrength of armes as other nacions do, but with ſtrength of the bodye. I had bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and ſtrength; as I encreaſed in them, ſo my bowes were made bigger and bigger, for men ſhal neuer ſhot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holſome kind of exerciſe, and much commended in phiſike."

To-day, we may be ſure, this archer will not draw his bow at a venture. He comes, "a ſore bruſed man," as his Swiſs ſervant and faithful friend, Auguſtine Bernher writes. He is about fifty-ſix years of age.† Winter and ſummer, "about two of the clocke in the morning," he is at his book moſt diligently. He preaches twice every Sunday, for the moſt part, "to the great ſhame, confuſion, and damnation of a great number of our fatbellied vnpreachyng prelates," ſays Bernher, who had learned his maſter's habit of plain ſpeaking. It is winter time, Friday, 18th January,

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* Sixth Sermon before Edward VI., 12th April, 1549.

† He was born about 1491. See Mr. Arber's *Introduction.*

1549: he is to preach at Paul's Croſs Sermon, but the weather is ſo cold that, for the ſake of the congregation, the Sermon will be preached under the ſhelter of the "Shrouds."* We will enter, and ſtanding under the arches of the crypt, we will lean againſt this maſſive pillar, and liſten to the outſpoken preacher.

His text is this: "Whatſoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning."† He recapitulates, very briefly, what he had ſaid in previous ſermons as to the ſeed which ought to be ſown in God's field, in God's plough-land: that is to ſay, what doctrine ſhould be taught in the Chriſtian Church. To-day, his ſubject is to be not the ſeed, nor the plough, but the ploughers, that is, the preachers. Some perſons had objected to his homely ſimilitudes. They had ſaid, "Oh Latimer, nay as for hym, I wil neuer beleue hym whyle I lyue, nor neuer truſte hym, for he lykened our bleſſed Ladye to a ſaffrone bagge." In truth, he had never uſed that ſimilitude: but if he had, there was a ſenſe in which it was not untrue. Chriſt had compared the Goſpel to a muſtard ſeed and to leaven, and had ſaid that He Himſelf will come like a thief.

But to his ſubject. A Plougher has always ſome work to do. "In my countrey in Leceſtre Shire, the ploughe man hath a tyme to ſet furth and to aſſaie hys plough, and other tymes for other neceſſari workes to be done." The preacher, too, muſt never be idle amongſt his people: "nowe caſtynge them downe with the lawe and with threateninges of God for ſynne; nowe ridgynge them vp agayne with the goſpel and with the promiſes of God's fauoure. Nowe weedinge them, by tellinge them their faultes, and makynge them forſake ſynne. Nowe clottinge them, by breakynge their ſtonie hertes, and by making them ſupple herted, and makyng them to haue hertes of fleſhe, that is ſoft hertes, and apte for doctrine to enter in." The preacher muſt labour diligently. The preaching of the Word is likened to meat: "not ſtrauberies, that come but once a yeare and tary not longe, but are ſone gone. . . Many make a ſtrauberie of it, miniſtringe it but once a yeare, but ſuch do not thoffice of good prelates."

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* That is, in the crypt of the Cathedral. See *Statutes*, p. 435.

† *Romans* xv. 4.

Alas! there were many ſuch. "Howe manye ſuch prelates, how manye ſuch byſhops, Lorde for Thy mercie, are there nowe in England."

The lay hearers are delighted with this plain ſpeaking: but liſten, their turn is come. "Nowe what ſhall we ſaye of theſe ryche citizens of London? What ſhall I ſaye of them? Shal I cal them proude men of London, malicious men of London, mercyleſſe men of London? No, no, I may not ſaie ſo, they wil be offended wyth me than. Yet muſt I ſpeake. For is there not reygning in London, as much pride, as much couetouſneſs, as much crueltie, as much oppriſſion, as much ſuperſticion, as was in Nebo? Yes, I thynke, and muche more to. Therfore I ſaye, repente, O London. Repent, repente." They could not endure to be told of their faults. "What a do was there made in London at a certein man becauſe he ſayd, and in dede at that time on a iuſt cauſe, 'Burgeſſes,' quod he, 'nay, Butterflies.' Lorde, what a do there was for yat worde. And yet would God they were no worſe than butterflies. Butterflyes do but theyre nature, the butterflye is not couetouſe, is not gredye of other mens goodes, is not ful of enuy and hatered, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not mercileſſe."

"London can not abyde to be rebuked, ſuche is the nature of man. If they be prycked, they wyll kycke. . . . London was neuer ſo yll as it is now. In tymes paſt men were full of pytie and compaſſion, but nowe there is no pitie, for in London their brother ſhall die in the ſtreetes for colde, he ſhall lye ſycke at theyr doore betwene ſtocke and ſtocke. . . . In tymes paſte when any ryche man dyed in London, they were wonte to healp the pore ſcholers of the Vniuerſitye wyth exhibition. When any man dyed, they woulde bequeth greate ſummes of money towarde the releue of the pore. When I was a ſcholer in Cambrydge my ſelfe, I harde verye good reporte of London, and knewe manie that had releue of the rytche men of London, but nowe I can heare no ſuch good reporte, and yet I inquyre of it, and herken for it, but nowe charitie is waxed colde, none helpeth the ſcholer nor yet the pore." The plougher in ſuch ſoil will have hard work. "Thys land is not for me to ploughe, it is to ſtonye, to thorni, to harde for me to plough. . . . What ſhall I loke for amonge thornes but prickyng and ſcrachinge? What among ſtones but ſtumblyng? What (I had almoſt ſayed) among ſerpenttes but ſtingyng?"

The Laity have had ſharp meaſure meted out to them, and now the Clergy ſhall have their turn again. "Euer ſence the Prelates were made Loordes and nobles, the ploughe ſtandeth, there is no worke done, the people ſterue. Thei hauke, thei hunt, thei card, they dyce, they paſtyme in theyr prelacies with galaunte gentlemen, with theyr daunſinge minyons, and with theyr freſhe companions, ſo that ploughinge is ſet a ſyde. And by the lordinge and loytryng, preachynge and ploughinge is cleane gone." This is ſtrong language from a Biſhop, but there is more to come. Theſe unpreaching Prelates are his abhorrence. "They are ſo troubeled wyth Lordelye lyuynge, they be ſo placed in palacies, couched in courtes, ruffelynge in theyr rentes, daunceynge in theyr dominions, burdened with ambaſſages, pamperynge of theyr panches lyke a monke that maketh his Jubilie, mounchynge in their maungers, and moylynge in their gaye manoures and manſions, and ſo troubeled wyth loyterynge in theyr Lordeſhyppes, that they canne not attende it. They are otherwyſe occupyed, ſomme in the Kynges matters, ſome are ambaſſadoures, ſome of the pryuie counſell, ſome to furnyſhe the courte, ſome are Lordes of the Parliamente, ſome are preſidentes, and ſome comptroleres of myntes. Well, well, is thys theyr duetye? . . . I would fayne knowe who comptrolleth the deuyll at home at his pariſhe, whyle he comptrolleth the mynte? If the Apoſtles mighte not leaue the office of preaching to be deacons, ſhall one leaue it for myntyng? I can not tell you, but the ſayinge is, that ſince prieſts haue bene minters, money hath bene wourſe then it was before. And they ſaye that the euylnes of money hath made all thinges dearer.* And in thys behalfe I muſt ſpeake to England. . . . Paule was no ſittynge biſhoppe, but a walkinge and a preachynge byſhop."

No claſs eſcapes his ſharp ſatire. "The onely cauſe, why noble men be not made Lord preſidentes, is becauſe they haue not bene brought vp in learninge. Therefore for the loue of God, appoynte teachers and ſcholemaiſters, you that haue charge of youth, and giue the teachers ſtipendes worthy their paynes, that they maye brynge them vp in grammer, in Logike, in rethorike, in Philoſophe, in the ciuile lawe, and in that whiche I can not leaue vnſpoken of, the Word of God." Then noblemen could take high offices of ſtate, and Biſhops might become purely ſpiritual perſons, and diligent preachers. "And nowe I would aſke a ſtraung queſtion. Who is the moſt diligent biſhoppe and prelate in al England, that paſſeth al the reſte in doinge his office? I can tel, for I knowe him, who it is I knowe hym well. But nowe I thynke I ſe you lyſting and hearkening, that I ſhoulde name him. There is one that paſſeth al the other, and is the moſt diligent prelate and preacher in al England. And wyl ye knowe who it is? I wyl tel you. It is the Deuyl. He is the moſte dyligent preacher of al other, he is neuer out of his dioces, he is neuer from his cure, ye ſhal neuer fynde hym vnoccupyed, he is euer in his pariſhe, he keepeth reſidence at al tymes, ye ſhal neuer fynde hym out of the waye, cal for him when you wyl, he is euer at home, the diligenteſte preacher in all the Realme, he is euer at his ploughe . . . Where the Deuyl is reſidente and hath his plough goinge, there awaye with bokes and vp with candelles, awaye wyth Bibles and vp with beades, awaye with the lyghte of the Goſpel and vp with the lyghte of candlles, yea at noonedayes . . . Downe with Chriſtes croſſe, vp with purgatory picke purſe, vp with hym, the popiſh pourgatorie, I mean . . . He goeth on viſitacion daylye. He leaueth no place of hys cure vnuiſited. There was neuer ſhuch a preacher in England as he is."

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* Such charges were frequently brought againſt the authorities of the Mint, whether clerical or lay. See Strype's Stow, i. pp. 101-109.

Then follows a long attack upon the doctrine of the Maſs: concluding with a vigorous onſlaught upon the Pope himſelf. "The Deuyl by the healpe of that Italian Biſhop yonder, his chaplayne, hath labored by al meanes that he myghte, to fruſtrate the death of Chriſte and the merites of His paſſion. And they haue deuiſed for that purpoſe to make vs beleue in other vayne thynges by his pardons, as to haue remiſſion of ſinnes for praiynge on hallowed beades, for drynkyng of the bake-houſe bole, as a channon of Waltam Abbey once tolde me, that when ſoeuer they putte theyr loues of breade into the ouen, as manie as drancke of the pardon boll ſhould haue pardon for drynckynge of it. A madde thynge to geue pardon to a bolle. Then to Pope Alexanders holie water, to hallowed belles, palmes, candelles, aſſhes, and what not? . . . Yea, and Alexanders holie water yet at thys day remayneth in Englande, and is vſed for a remedye againſt ſpirites, and to chaſe awaye deuylles."

This leads the preacher on to ſpeak of images and of the worſhip offered to them. They are to be deſtroyed even as Hezekiah deſtroyed the brazen ſerpent.

The peroration is now near at hand. The lordly Prelates are again rebuked. "The Deuill is diligente at his ploughe. He is no vnpreachynge prelate. He is no Lordelie loyterer from his cure, but a buſie ploughe man, ſo that amonge all the prelates, and amonge al the packe of them that haue cure the Deuil ſhall go for my money. For he ſtyl applyeth his buſynes. Therfore ye vnpreachynge prelates, learne of the deuill to be diligent in doing of your office. Learne of the deuill. And if you wyl not learne of God nor good man, for ſhame learne of the deuill. *Ad erubeſcentiam veſtram dico.** I ſpeake it for your ſhame. If you wyll not learne of God nor good man to be diligent in your office, learne of the deuill. Howe be it there is nowe verie good hoope that the Kynges maieſtie beinge by the healpe of good gouernaunce of his mooſte honourable counſaylours, he is trayned and broughte vp in learnynge and knowledge of Goddes word, wil ſhortly prouide a remedye and ſet an ordre here in, which thyng that it may ſo be, lette vs praye for hym. Praye for hym, good people, praye for hym; ye haue great cauſe and neede to praye for hym."

And ſo the preacher ends, and his congregation diſperſe, ſaying, "We have heard ſtrange things to-day."*

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* "I ſpeak to your ſhame" (1 *Cor.* vi. 5).

Who does not underſtand the prodigious power of this rude, uncultivated eloquence? Coarſe, very often, and to our modern taſtes, profane, there was a force and a directneſs in it, which carried home the preacher's leſſons. Latimer was eſſentially a preacher to the people. His language was their language, the plain mother tongue. He ſpoke of that which was uppermoſt in their thoughts, and laſhed, with unſparing hand, the follies, the abuſes, the ſins, the corruptions of the day. But he was laying up in ſtore for himſelf retributions; the day was coming when the "lordly prelates" would have the pre-eminence, and his violent words would be remembered. Thoſe who know only the bitter phraſes of the Roman Prelates as they find them plentifully recorded in the *Acts and Monuments* of John Fox, ſhould certainly, in common fairneſs, read the equally ſtrong language of the reforming Biſhops. If Biſhop Bonner is to be ſelected as the repreſentative of the one, Biſhop Bale is to be taken as the repreſentative of the other. In truth, the atrocious coarſeneſs of the latter renders many of his utterances incapable of reproduction in the nineteenth century. In theſe troubled days of fierce debate men on both ſides uſed the weapon which firſt came to hand, regardleſs whether it were a ſword, a battle-axe, a bible, a ſpear, or a bucket of dirty water.

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* The edition uſed in the text has been Mr. Arber's reprint of that "Imprinted at London, by Jhon Daye, dwellinge at Alderſgate, and William Seres, dwellinge in Peter Colledge."

When Latimer was at the climax of denunciation, his words were certainly not meaſured. It muſt be remembered, however, that there was much to ſtir up his juſt wrath. Let us take one or two examples.

He denounces the holy water of Pope Alexander. In the Breviary, on May 3, the day of the Invention of the Holy Croſs, in the ninth lection for the day we read, that "Alexander was a Roman who ruled the Church during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. . . . He ordained that bleſſed water mingled with ſalt, ſhould be kept always in churches, and ſhould be uſed in private houſes to ſcare away devils." The Breviary itſelf may be quoted as an authority on the fact.

He denounces the Pardon-bowl at Waltham. He might readily have found other examples. At Bury S. Edmunds, in the monaſtery there, was a "holye relique which was called the *pardon-boule;* whoſoever dronk of this boule in the worſhippe of God and Saynt Edmund, he had fiue hundred dayes of pardon, *toties quoties..*"* Biſhop Bale, in his *Image of both Churches*, enumerates ſeveral other "pardon maſers or drinking diſhes, as S. Benet's bowl, S. Edmond's bowl, S. Giles' bowl, S. Blyth's bowl, and Weſtminſter bowl."† To theſe Calfhill adds S. Leonard's bowl.‡

A collection of ſome of the chief Indulgences in the Sarum *Book of Hours* will be found in Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation:** theſe will ſhow how deeply engrained into the popular thought the whole ſyſtem of indulgences and pardons had become.

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* Becon's Works, iii. fol. 187, quoted in Corrie's edition of Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 75.

† Parker Soc. edition, p. 526.

‡ Calfhill, anſwer to Martiall, p. 287.

The wonder-working images and pictures excited Latimer's vehement animadverſions. The Cathedral itſelf had its ſhare of ſhrines, and images, and pictures. The melancholy expoſures of "roods with rolling eyes and ſweating brows, with ſpeaking mouth and walking feet"† were only too freſh in the minds of the people. It was time to ſpeak out; and no one can ſay that Latimer was not outſpoken. In ſuch ſtirring times much muſt be pardoned to earneſt true-hearted men.

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* Biſhop Burnet, *Records*, Book i. ſect. 26. Edition 1841, iv. p. 280.

† Calfhill, p. 274.

THOMAS LEVER AT PAUL'S CROSS.

CHAPTER XI.

THOMAS LEVER AT PAUL'S CROSS.

THOMAS LEVER may very well be taken as a typical example of another great preacher of the reign of Edward VI. In this caſe alſo we are indebted to Mr. Edward Arber for a careful reprint of three ſermons, the firſt preached in the Shrouds of S. Paul's on Septuageſima Sunday, 2nd February, 1550; the ſecond preached before the King at Court on Mid-Lent Sunday; and the third preached at Paul's Croſs on the ſecond Sunday in Advent in the ſame year.*

Thomas Lever was ſucceſſively Fellow, Preacher, and Maſter of S. John's College, Cambridge; he was Paſtor in exile of the Engliſh Church at Aaran; Prebendary of Durham Cathedral, and Maſter of Sherborne Hoſpital. Strype ſays,† that on June 24,

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* Mr. Arber's brief notes on the Life and Writings of Thomas Lever have been freely uſed in the following notice.

† *Eccles. Mem.*, edit. 1822, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 402-3.

1550, Biſhop Ridley ordained twenty-five deacons before the high Altar of S. Paul's, and that amongſt them were Thomas Lever, and John Fox the Martyrologiſt; and he adds that, on Auguſt 10, Biſhop Ridley held an ordination at Fulham, when his chaplain, John Bradford, was ordained deacon, and Thomas Lever received prieſt's orders. It is difficult to reconcile theſe dates with the fact of his preaching at S. Paul's on February 2, 1550. During the reign of Queen Mary we find him, with other exiles, at Zurich, at Geneva. Upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, he marries, he returns to England, he is a more eager Proteſtant than ever. He died at Ware whilſt journeying back to his Hoſpital, and was buried at Sherborne, "under a blue marble ſtone, whereon is cut a croſs flory with a bible and chalice, and on a braſs plate,"

THOMAS LEAVER PREACHER
TO KING EDWARD THE SIXTE
HE DIED IN IVLY 1577.

The firſt of theſe three ſermons is an urgent exhortation to the religious performance of civil duties. The Preachers of the Reformation period were bold ſpeakers, manful pleaders of the cauſe of the poor, denouncing corruption even in the higheſt places. It muſt be remembered that there were no newſpapers in thoſe days. At Paul's Croſs the laity often learned, for the firſt time, what events were being tranſacted, far and near. England was recovering from the long anarchy of the Wars of the Roſes, but whilſt the rich had become richer, the poor had become poorer. Wool, the great ſtaple of the country, had riſen ſo greatly in price, "that poore folkes, which were wonte to worke it and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all," ſays Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*.* England had its "land queſtion," and the encloſure of lands was one of the great cauſes of Kett's rebellion. The Impropriation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices was another "burning queſtion": corporations, non-reſident clergy, and even laymen held rich benefices, delegating the ſpiritual duties to a half-ſtarved curate, whilſt the temporal duties, hoſpitality and the like, were practically left undone. "Is it nat great pitye to ſe a man to haue thre or foure benefyces: yea, paraduenture, halfe a ſcore or a doſyn, whiche he neuer cometh at," aſks Sir Francis Bygod, who joined the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, and was hanged at Tyburn in June, 1537.† He proceeds: "whiche [benefices] he neuer cometh at, but ſetteth in euery one of them a Syr Iohn lacke laten that can ſcarce rede his porteus,‡ orels ſuche a rauenynge wolfe as canne do nothynge but deuoure the ſely ſhepe with his falſe doctryne, and ſucke their ſubſtaunce from them. . . . I haue knowen ſuche that whan they hauen rydden by a benefyce whereof they haue ben perſone they coulde natte tell that it was their benefyce. This is a wonderfull blyndneſſe."

The Roman party charged many of theſe evils to the change of religion: the Reforming party indignantly refuted and hurled back the charge. Among all the preachers of the period "none more bravely fought the battle of the loyal poor; none more vigorouſly, even to perſonal hazard and danger, expoſed the cruelty, covetouſneſs, and craft, of the rich and of the clergy, than Thomas Lever, the Cambridge Fellow, and the Boanerges of the Reformation."* No wonder that his Sermons were popular. No leſs than five editions of theſe three diſcourſes were publiſhed in 1550.

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* Mr. Arber, *Introduction to Lever's Sermons*, p. 11.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

‡ An unlearned prieſt who could not read his Breviary.

Let us turn to the firſt of theſe: "A fruitfull Sermon made in Poules churche at London in the Shroudes the ſeconde daye of Februari by Thomas Leuer. Anno MD and fiftie." He begins at once with words of warning. "Alas England, God, whom thou mayeſt beleue for his truthe, hathe ſayd playnly thou ſhalt be deſtroyed, and all thyne ennemyes, bothe Scots, Frenchmen, Papiſtes, and Turkes, I do not meane the men in whome is ſome mercye, but the moſt cruell vices of theſe thy enemyes beynge wythout all pitie, as the couetouſenes of Scotland, the pryde of Fraunce, the hipocryſy of Rome, and the Idolatrye of the Turkes. A hundred thouſande of theſe enemies are landed at thy hauens, haue entred thy fortes, and do procede to ſpoyle, murther, and vtterly deſtroy: and yet for all this thou wretched Englande beleueſt not gods worde, regardeſt not hys threatninge, calleſt not for mercye, ne feareſte not gods vengeaunce. Wherfore God beinge true of hys word and righteous in hys dedes, thou Englande whyche wylt haue no mercye, ſhalt haue vengeaunce; whyche wylte not be ſaued, ſhalte be deſtroyed. For God hath ſpoken, and it is wrytten."

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* Edward Arber, *Introduction*, pp. 16-17.

God had ſaid that every kingdom divided againſt itſelf ſhould be deſolate and deſtroyed. England "is not onelye diuyded, but alſo rente, torne, and plucked cleane in pieces."

Covetouſneſs is a fearful evil. "Every couetouſe man is proude, thynkynge hymſelfe more worthy a pounde then a nother man a penye, more fitte to haue chaunge of ſylkes and veluettes then other to haue bare friſe cloth, and more conueniente for hym to haue aboundaunce of diuerſe dilicates for hys daintye toth then for other to haue plenty of bieſes and muttons for theyr hongry bellyes: and finnally that he is more worthye to haue gorgeouſe houſes to take his pleaſure in, in bankettynge, then laborynge men to haue poore cotages to take reſt in, in ſlepynge." The judgment of God will fall on all theſe.

This is but a ſort of preamble to the Sermon. The text is, "Everye ſoule be ſubiecte vnto the hygher powers," and the following verſes.* All ought to be under obedience, and to give to one another what is due: "howbeit experience declareth howe that here in Englande pore men haue been rebels, and ryche men haue not done their duetie."

The Apoſtles had all things common, and now "ryche menne ſhoulde kepe to theym ſelues no more then they nede, and geue vnto the poore ſo muche as they nede." In this ſenſe "chriſten mens goodes ſhuld be comen vnto euery mans nede, and priuat to no mans luſte." There muſt be rich men and rulers, but the rich muſt uſe their wealth as became Chriſtians. Alas, men did not ſo.

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* *Romans* xiii. 1-7.

"As for example of ryche men, loke at the merchauntes of London, and ye ſhall ſe, when as by their honeſt vocacion, and trade of marchandiſe god hath endowed them with great abundaunce of ryches, then can they not be content with the proſperous welth of that vocacion to ſatiſfye theym ſelues and to helpe other, but their riches muſte abrode in the countrey to bie fermes * out of the handes of worſhypfull gentlemen, honeſte yeomen, and pore laborynge huſbandes. Yea nowe alſo to bye perſonages † and benefices, where as they do not onelye bye landes and goodes but alſo lyues and ſoules of men, from God and the comen wealth, vnto the deuyll and theim ſelues. A myſcheuouſe marte of merchandrie is this, and yet nowe ſo comenly vſed, that therby ſhepeheardes be turned to theues, dogges into wolues, and the poore flocke of Chriſt, redemed wyth his precious bloud, moſte miſerablye pylled and ſpoyled, yea cruelly deuoured. Be thou marchaunt of the citye, or be thou gentleman in the contrey, be thou lawer, be you courtear, or what maner of man ſoeuer thou be, that can not, yea yf thou be maſter doctor of diuinitie, that wyl not do thy duety, it is not lawfull for the to haue perſonage, bene-

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* Fermes, *that is*, farms. † Perſonages, parſonages.

fice, or any ſuche liuying, excepte thou do ſede the flocke ſpiritually wyth goddes worde, and bodelye wyth honeſte hoſpitalitye. I wyll touch diuerſe kyndes of ryche men and rulers, that ye maye ſe what harme ſome of theim do wyth theyr ryches and authoritye. And eſpeciallye I wyll begynne wyth theym that be beſt learned, for they ſeme belyke to do moſte good wyth ryches and authoritie vnto theim committed. If I therefore beynge a yonge ſimple ſcholer myghte be ſo bolde, I wolde aſke an auncient, wyſe, and well-learned doctor of diuinitie, whych cometh not at hys benefice, whether he were bounde to ſede hys flocke in teachynge of goddes worde, and kepyng hoſpitalitie, or no? He wold anſwere and ſaye: Syr, my curate ſupplieth my roume in teachynge, and my farmer in kepynge of houſe. Yea, but maſter doctor, by your leaue, both theſe more for your vauntage then for the paryſhe conforte: and therfore the mo ſuche ſeruauntes that ye kepe there, the more harme is it for your paryſhe, and the more ſynne and ſhame for you. Ye may thynke that I am ſumwhat ſaucye to laye ſynne and ſhame to a doctor of diuinitie in thys ſolemne audience, for ſome of theim vſe to excuſe the matter and ſaye: Thoſe whych I leaue in myne abſence do farre better then I ſhoulde do, yf I taryed there my ſelfe. Nowe good maſter doctor ye ſaye the verye truthe, and therfore be they more worthye to haue the benefice then you your ſelfe, and yet neyther of you bothe ſufficient mete or able: they for lacke of habilitye, and you for lacke of good wyll. Good wyll, quod he? Naye, I wolde wyth all my harte, but I am called to ſerue the Kynge in other places, and to take other offices in the comen wealthe. Heare then what I ſhall aunſwere yet once agayne: There is lyuynges and rewardes due and belongyng to theim that labour in thoſe offyces, and ſo oughte you to be contente wyth the lyuyng and reward of that office onelye, and take no more, the duetye of the whyche office by your labour and diligence ye can diſcharge onlye, and do no more."

Let it be remembered that theſe words were ſpoken at S. Paul's itſelf, in the very heart of the City of London. He was a bold man who ſpoke of pluralities to the Clergy, and of the luſt for land to rich and powerful merchants.

He proceeds to ſpeak of the ſuppreſſion of Abbeys, Cloiſters, Colleges, and Chantries. The intention of the late King had been good in this matter. "Suche abundaunce of goodes as was ſuperſticiouſly ſpente vpon vayne ceremonies, or voluptuouſly vpon idle bellies" might be more uſefully expended for the better relief of the poor, the maintenance of learning, and the ſetting forth of God's word. Covetous officers had fruſtrated this deſign. "At the fyrſte the intente was verie godly, the pretence wonderouſe goodly, but nowe the vſe, or rather the abuſe and myſorder of theſe thynges is worldlye, is wycked, is deuilyſhe, is abhominable." He attacks the evil-doers. "You whych haue gotten theſe goodes into your own handes, to turne them rom euyll to worſe, and other goodes mo frome good vnto euyll, be ye ſure it is euen you that haue offended God; begyled the kynge, robbed the ryche, ſpoyled the pore, and brought a comen wealth into a comen miſerye. It is euen you that muſt eyther be plaged with gods vengeaunce as wer the Sodomytes, or amende by repentaunce as did the Nineuites." Not that abbeys and cloiſters were to be founded again, but that charitable alms and honeſt hoſpitality were to be beſtowed, and ſchools founded "for the brynngyng vp of yougth."

This is good contemporary evidence, if any were needed, as to the grievous abuſes of the times. Greedy courtiers had ſwallowed up the church lands, and ſpent that which had been given for holy uſes upon their own luſts. How did the courtiers like this preaching?

The people were groaning under heavy yokes, let them pray to God and He would deliver them. The rulers knew their duty to the people, let them forbear to load them with burdens that ought not to be borne.

He draws near to the end of the diſcourſe, and gives a kind of parable to his hearers. "Harcke a lytle, and I ſhal tell you of an abhomynable robbery done in the Citye, knowen to the officers of the City, and as yet not punyſhed, but rather mayntayned in the city. There is a greate ſumme of monye ſente from an honorable Lord by hys ſeruaunte vnto thoſe whome he is indetted vnto in the citye. The officers knowynge that they to whom thys monye is ſente haue great nede of it, knowe alſo in what places, at what tymes, theſe vnthryſtye ſeruauntes by whome it is ſente, at gamnynge, banckettyng, and riot, do ſpende it. If thys be an euell dede, why is it not punyſhed? Bycauſe it is not knowen, ſome ſaye. But whyther they meane that it is not knowen to be done, or not knowen to be euyll, I doubte. And therefore here now wyll I make it openlye knowen boeth to be done, and alſo to be euell done, and worſe ſuffered. But doeth not manye of you knowe? Sure I am that all you that be officers oughte to know that all that ryches and treaſures whyche rych men, and rufflers, waſte at gredye gamning, glotonous bancketting, and ſuche riote, is not theyr owne, but ſente by theym from the honorable Lord of heauen, vnto other that be honeſt, pore, and nedye: vnto whome God by hys promyſe is indetted."

Theſe are plain manly words, and muſt have gone home to many a heart. That they did ſo is quite certain, for in his ſecond ſermon, before the King, Thomas Lever ſets forth the facts of the plunder of Sedburgh School in Yorkſhire; in April 1551, that is within little more than a year after the ſermon was delivered, King Edward VI. refounded the School. His bold words had angered many a hearer. In the very outſet of this ſermon, Lever ſays that there were not wanting men who ſaid of a true preacher that he had "learned his leſſon in Jackanapes court": but idle jeſts would not turn him from his earneſt purpoſe. He could not endure that the rich ſhould waſte their money in riotous living whilſt "olde Fathers, poore Wydowes, and yong Chyldren lye beggyng in the myrie ſtretes." We have loſt, in theſe poliſhed days, the roughneſs, the occaſional coarſeneſs, of theſe earneſt old preachers: and we have loſt, too, what is of the higheſt value, the dauntleſs courage which enables men to denounce the crying evils of the time. We ſee them and are ſilent. Time is waſted on queſtions of infinitely ſmall importance, whilſt great ſins and crying wickedneſſes paſs unrebuked. Paul's Croſs was not ſilent.

Lever's third ſermon, at Paul's Croſs, is not inferior in ability or in earneſtneſs to thoſe which preceded it. He laſhes once more the covetouſneſs of the times, and the prevailing corruptions. High places in the ſtate are bought and ſold; not merit nor ability, but money, is the ſtepping-ſtone to power. Every ſecular office is in truth a religious office, every Chriſtian commonwealth is the fold of Chriſt's ſheep: yet a man would take ſuch office only that he might enrich himſelf. "O that no man in thys faute wer gilty, then myght I be ſure yat no man wold be offended." Thoſe who held ſeveral offices or benefices are again cenſured: a ſmall portion only of the revenues "doth ſerue two honeſt menne whyche ye leaue in your abſence."

"Herke you that haue three or foure benefyces. I wyll ſay the beſt for you that can be ſpoken. Thou lyeſt al wayes at one of thy benefyces, thou arte abſente alwayes from three of thy benefyces. Thou kepeſt a good houſe at one of thy benefyces, thou kepeſt no houſe at three of thy benefyces. Thou doeſt thy deutye at one of thy benefyces, thou doeſt no dutye at thre of thy benefices. Thou ſemeſt to be a good manne in one place, and in dede thou arte founde noughte in thre places. Wo be vntoo you worſe then Scrybes and Phariſeis, Hypocrytes, whyche ſhut vp the kyngedome of heauen afore menne, kepynge the paryſhe ſo that neyther you enter in your ſelfe, neyther ſuffer them that would enter in and do theyr dewtye, to haue your roumes and commodities. Woo be vnto you, dumme Dogges, choked wyth benefyces, ſo that ye be not able to open your mouthes to barcke agaynſte pluralytyes, improperacions, bying of vouſons,* nor againſt anye euyll abuſe of the cleargies lyuynges."

Great and rich men took to themſelves the advantage and the profit of benefices, and gave unto their very children, "being ignoraunte babes, the names and tytles of Perſonnages, Prebendes, Archedeaconryes, and of all manner of offyces." Plain ſpeaking was moſt neceſſary, the whole fabric of ſociety ſeemed corrupt.

But, leſt the laity ſhould be boaſtful, they ſhall have a Parthian ſhot before the preacher ends. "You of the laytye, when ye ſee theſe ſmall motes in the eyes of the clargye, take heede too the greate beames that be in your owne eyes. But alas I feare leaſt yat ye haue no eyes at all. For as hypocriſy and ſuperſticion dooeth bleare the eyes: So couetouſneſſe and ambycyon doeth putte the eyes cleane out. For yf ye were not ſtarke blynd ye would ſe and be aſhamed that where as fyfty tunne belyed Monckes, geuen to glottony, fylled theyr pawnches, kept vp theyr houſe, and relyued the whol country round about them, ther one of your gredye guttes deuowrynge the whole houſe and makyng great pyllage throughoute the countrye, cannot be ſatiſfyed." The Sermon has a prefatory Epiſtle, and this Epiſtle is dedicated "unto the right honorrable Lordes, and others of the Kynges Mageſtie hys Priuye Counſell," wiſhing them "increaſe of Grace and godly honoure." There muſt have been ſome amongſt them who felt that the preacher's arrow found its way through the joints of the harneſs.

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* Buying of advowſons.

He proceeds to plead the cauſe of the Univerſity of Cambridge. Henry VIII. had made liberal gifts to it for "the exibition and fyndynge of fiue learned menne to reade and teache dyuynitye, lawe, Phyſycke, Greke, and Ebrue." Thoſe around the King had defeated his good intentions. We "haue juſte occaſion to ſuſpecte that you haue decyued boeth the kynge and vniuerſitie, to enryche youre ſelues." The funds had been alienated, the number of the ſtudents was conſequently reduced. He gives a ſketch of the lives of ſome of the "poore, godly, dylygent ſtudentes." "There be dyuers ther whych ryſe dayly betwixte foure and fyue of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyue vntyll ſyxe of the clocke, vſe common prayer wyth an exhortacion of gods worde in a commune chappell, and from ſixe vnto ten of the clocke vſe euer eyther pryuate ſtudy or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dynner, whereas they be content with a penye pyece of byeſe* amongeſt iiij. hauying a fewe porage made of the brothe of the ſame byefe, wyth ſalte and otemell, and nothynge els. After thys ſlender dinner they be either teachynge or learnynge vntyll v. of the clocke in the euenyng, when as they haue a ſupper not much better then theyr dyner. Immedyatelye after the whyche, they go eyther to reaſonyng in problemes, or vnto ſome other ſtudye, vntyll it be nyne or tenne of the clocke, and there beyng wythout fyre are fayne to walk or runne vp and downe halfe an houre, to gette a heate on their feete whan they go to bed. Theſe be menne not werye of theyr paynes, but very ſorye to leue theyr ſtudye: and ſure they be not able ſome of theym to contynue for lacke of neceſſarye exibicion and relefe. Theſe be the lyuyng ſayntes whyche ſerue god takyng greate paynes in abſtinence, ſtudye, laboure and dylygence, wyth watching and prayer." A collection ſhould be made among the rich merchants of the City to ſupport theſe poor laborious ſtudents.

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* Biſhop Fleetwood in his *Chronicon Precioſum* (pp. 116, 117).

The Grammar Schools, too, had been grievouſly plundered "by reaſon of the gredye couetouſnes of you that were put in truſt by God and the kynge to erecte and make grammer ſcholes in manye places."

Impropriations are, once more, vigorouſly de-

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edit. 1707), ſays, quoting Stow, that in 1533 it was enacted "that Butchers ſhould ſell their Beef and Mutton *by weight*—Beef for a *Half Penny* the Pound, and Mutton for *Three Farthings*. . . . The Butchers of *London* ſold *Penny-Pieces* of beef, for the relief of the Poor; every Piece two pound and an half; ſometimes 3 Pound for a Penny." Did the Cambridge Butchers in 1550 ſell as cheaply?

nounced, in language of the ſtrongeſt. The greedy covetouſneſs of officers had devoured fair lands and goodly incomes. One man had ſwallowed up a whole Abbey, houſe, lands, and goods. If ſuch men had the power, they would ſeize upon whole countries too.

Wicked ſervants of Mammon made the fruits of the earth dear. "I haue heard howe that euen this laſt yere, ther was certayn Acres of corne growyng on the ground bought for viii. poundes: he that bought it for viii. ſold it for x. He that gaue x. pounds, ſold it to an other aboue xii. poundes: and at laſt, he that caryed it of the ground payde xiiii. poundes. Lykewyſe I hearde, that certayne quarters of malte were boughte after the pryce of iii. ſhyllynges iiii. pence a quarter to be delyuered in a certayn markette towne vpon a certayne daye. Thys bargayne was ſo oft bought and ſolde before the daye of delyueraunce came, that the ſame Malte was ſolde to hym that ſhoulde receyue it there and carrye it awaye, after vj. s. a quarter." Theſe unjuſt profits cauſed the poor to ſuffer, "the craftes man payinge ſo muche, and the huſbandman takynge ſo lytle."

Land was dealt with in the ſame manner. Within a few miles of London, an honeſt gentleman did let his land unto poor honeſt men after ii. s. iiii. d. an acre: "Then commeth a leſemounger, a thefe, an extorcioner, deceiuyng ye tenaunts, bieth theyr leaſes, put theim from the groundes, and cauſeth them yat haue it at hym nowe, to paye after ix. s. or as I harde ſaye, xix. s., but I am aſhamed to name ſo muche."

Theſe "Marchauntes of miſchiefe commynge betwixte the barke and the tree, do make all thinges dere to the byers." They alſo carried away lead, wool, leather, and ſuch ſubſtantial wares as would ſet many Engliſhmen to work, and do every man good ſervice: and brought back, in their place, from foreign parts, ſilks, and ſables, and fooliſh feathers, to fill the land full of ſuch baggage as will never do rich or poor good and neceſſary ſervice. God gave plenty, and man made dearneſs and ſcarcity.

He concludes with an appeal to all orders and degrees. He would ſhow each claſs its ſins. "Vnto the clergy, the ſinnes of ye clergy; vnto the laitye, the ſynnes of the layte; and vnto euery degre, ye ſinnes yat be of that degre vſed." The Clergy fed themſelves, and neglected the flock. They could not teach others, becauſe they would not amend themſelves. The nobility oppreſſed the commonalty. The commonalty were traitors and rebels; they hurt, and troubled, ate up and devoured, one another. They oppreſſed each other, they made corn and land dear. All muſt repent and amend.

The Preacher's political economy may be received with ſcant favour nowadays; but no one can riſe from the peruſal of theſe Sermons without feeling that the ſpeaker is a bold, courageous, honeſt man. He ſpeaks to the higheſt and to the loweſt fearleſſly. He attacks the actual ſins of the day, and he does not ſpare the ſinners. If there be comparatively little of the ſpiritual element in his teaching, it muſt be remembered that he was trying to lay the foundations of religion. It is worſe than idle to talk of high ſpiritual privileges to men who are ſteeped up to the eyes in fraud, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. Thomas Lever was an Engliſhman to the backbone, a lover of liberty, a friend of the poor. It would have been well if all Paul's Croſs Sermons had been filled with ſuch ſound doctrine.

An intereſting parallel to Thomas Lever's remarks upon the coſt of Univerſity education is found in a letter written from London in 1550 by Chriſtopher Hales, and addreſſed to Henry Bullinger.* "I would rather recommend Oxford," he writes, "on account of the greater ſalubrity of the air. Cambridge, by reaſon of the neighbouring fen, is much expoſed to fever, as I have experienced more frequently than I could wiſh. With reſpect to expenſe, my friend informed me, that thirty French crowns would ſuffice tolerably well for a year; to which, if other ten could be added, a man might expect to live very comfortably. In my time, ten years ſince, twenty crowns were a ſufficient allowance; but in theſe latter days, when avarice is everywhere increaſing, and charity growing cold, and this by a divine ſcourge, everything has become almoſt twice as dear as it was. And this I attribute to no other cauſe than our proud and Pharaoh-like rejection of the ſpiritual food of our ſouls ſo liberally and abundantly offered."

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* *Original Letters relative to the Engliſh Reformation* (Parker Society), vol. i. p. 190, Letter CI.

PAUL'S CROSS: ITS LATER HISTORY.

CHAPTER XII.

PAUL'S CROSS: ITS LATER HISTORY.

A FULL hiſtory of Paul's Croſs would be a hiſtory of religion in England. Every great event, political and religious, whilſt the Croſs was ſtanding, found here its eloquent defender or denouncer. Here, as in ſome great panorama, the moſt illuſtrious forms paſs before our eyes; Kings, Queens, Prelates, Preachers, in their habit as they lived, as they were figured in the grim *Dance of Death* upon the cloiſter walls hard by. Papiſt denounced Proteſtant, and Proteſtant denounced Papiſt, with equal impartiality, as the ebb and flow of the tide brought either party to the front.

Let us take one or two examples.

Now the Reformers are in favour:

"The firſt of Nouember, [1552,] being the Feaſt of All Saints, the new Service Booke called Of Common Prayer, began in Paules Church, and the like through the whole Cittie, the Biſhop of London, Doctor Ridley, executing the ſeruice in Paules Church in the forenoone in his rochet onely, without coape or veſtment, preached in the quier; and at afternoone hee preached at Pauls Crofse, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Crafts in their beſt Liveries being preſent: which Sermon, tending to the ſetting forth the ſaid late made Booke of Common Prayer, continued till almoſt fiue of the clocke at night."*

Only two months before† Ridley had viſited the Princeſs Mary at Hunſden, and had offered to preach before her. She had declined to hear him.

"Ye may preach if you liſt, but neither I nor any of mine ſhall hear you."

"Madam," ſaid Ridley, "I truſt you will not refuſe God's Word."

"I cannot tell what ye call God's Word," replied Mary, "that is not God's Word now, that was God's Word in my father's days."

"God's Word is one at all times, but hath been better underſtood and practiſed in ſome ages than in other."

Mary. "You durſt not for your ears have avouched that for God's Word in my father's days that now you do: and as for your new books, I thank God, I never read any of them, I never did nor ever will do."

At the cloſe of the interview, the Biſhop accepted Sir Thomas Wharton's offer of refreſhment; but when he had eaten, ſuddenly exclaimed:

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* Stow, *Annales*, p. 608.

† Fox, *Acts and Monuments.* About Sept. 8, 1552.

"Surely I have done amiſs."

"Why ſo?" quoth Sir Thomas.

"For I have drunk," ſaid he, "in that place where God's Word offered hath been refuſed, whereas if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have ſhaken off the duſt of my ſhoes for a teſtimony againſt this houſe."

"Theſe words were by the ſaid biſhop ſpoken with ſuch a vehemency, that ſome of the hearers afterward confeſſed their hair to ſtand upright on their heads." Had Mary been preſent, one would have liked to hear her rejoinder: it is poſſible that ſhe, too, would have ſpoken with "ſuch a vehemency."

In the like earneſt ſpirit, no doubt, Ridley came to Paul's Croſs. It was not the only time that he ſtood there. In the *Second Conference between Ridley and Latimer in priſon*,* Ridley ſays, in anſwer to the queſtion, "Have not you uſed in times paſt to ſay maſſes yourſelf?"—"I confeſs unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for theſe matters I have done open penance long ago both at Paul's Croſs, and alſo openly in the pulpit at Cambridge. And I truſt God hath forgiven me this mine offence, for I did it upon ignorance." In his *Conference with Secretary Bourn*, at the Lieutenant's table in the Tower,† he refers to the doctrine which he had maintained at Paul's Croſs on the ſubject of the Euchariſt.

A ſhort time only has elapſed, but the ſcene is changed. Edward is gathered to his fathers, and Mary reigns in his ſtead. The Roman party is triumphant, at leaſt in high places.

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* Parker Society, *Works of Biſhop Ridley*, p. 119.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 163.

On Sunday, Auguſt 13th, 1553, Bourne, whom Queen Mary had appointed her chaplain, preached at Paul's Croſs. There had been a riot at S. Bartholomew's on Auguſt 11th, when a prieſt had attempted to ſay maſs. The Queen removed to Richmond on Saturday, Auguſt 12th. On the following day another prieſt was attacked at the altar, the veſtments were torn from his back, and the chalice ſnatched from his hands. Bourne was ſet to preach at the Croſs. "A crowd of refugees and Engliſh fanatics had collected round the pulpit. He ſpoke in praiſe of Bonner, and ſaid that he had been unjuſtly impriſoned. At theſe words, ſays Renard, the popular exaſperation broke out. Yells aroſe: 'Papiſt! Papiſt! tear him down!' A dagger was hurled at the preacher, ſwords were drawn, the mayor attempted to interfere, but he could not make his way through the denſe maſs of the rioters; and Bourne would have paid for his raſhneſs with his life, had not Courtenay, who was a popular favourite, with his mother, the Marchioneſs of Exeter, thrown themſelves on the pulpit ſteps, while Bradford ſprung to his ſide and kept the people back till he could be carried off."*

In Wriotheſley's *Chronicle*† it is ſaid that Biſhop Bonner himſelf was preſent, and that "the Lord

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* Froude, *Hiſtory of England*, vi. pp. 60, 61.

† *Chronicle*, ii. pp. 97, 98.

Courtney and the Lady Marques of Execeter had as much adoe by their meanes to ſee the ſayd Biſhop conveyed in ſafetye through the Church, the people were ſo rude."

Machyn,[*] in his wildeſt ſpelling, as if the tumult had diſturbed his thoughts, records the riot in his own quaint manner. "The xiii day Auguſt dyd pryche at Powlles Croſſe doctur [Bourne] parſun of Hehnger [that is, of High Ongar] in Eſſex, the qwen chaplen: and ther gret up-rore and ſhowtyng at ys ſermon, as yt [were] lyke mad pepull, watt yonge pepell and woman [as] ever was hard, as herle-borle, and caſtyng up of capes. [If] my Lord Mer and my lord Cortenay ad not ben ther, ther had bene grett Myſcheyff done." It is clearly the account of an eye-witneſs.

Gilbert Bourne was one of the Prebendaries of S. Paul's, and in his ſermon he had prayed for the ſouls departed, and had not only praiſed Bonner, but had ſpoken ill of Ridley. He certainly had a narrow eſcape, for the dagger ſtruck one of the ſide-poſts of the pulpit.[†] Maſter Bradford came into the pulpit, ſays Fox,[‡] and "ſpake ſo mildly, chriſtianly, and effectuouſly, that with few words he appeaſed all: and afterward he and Maſter Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-ſchool door, where they left him ſafe, as further, in the ſtory of Maſter Bradford, is declared." Fox does not mention Courtenay's intervention; he was anxious, it would ſeem, "to point a moral and adorn a tale," for he goes on to ſay that, ſhortly after, Bradford and Rogers "were both rewarded with long impriſonment, and, laſt of all, with fire in Smithfield." Bourne was conſecrated Biſhop of Bath and Wells on April 1ſt, 1554, but was deprived by Elizabeth in the firſt year of her reign, on his refuſing to take the oath of ſupremacy.

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[*] Machyn's *Diary*, p. 41.

[†] Notes to Machyn's *Diary*, p. 332.

[‡] Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, vi. p. 392.

On the following Sunday, Auguſt 20th, Mr. Watſon,* "a bachelor of divinity and chaplain to the Biſhop of Wincheſter," preached at Paul's Croſs, under a guard of two hundred ſoldiers, "with their halberdes." The companies ſtood around "in their liueries and hoodes all the ſermon tyme, to herken yf any leude or ſedicious perſons made any rumors or miſorder." The preacher declared "the obedience of ſubiectes, and what erronious ſectes are raigninge in this realme by falſe preachers and teachers; to the godly edyfyinge of the audience there preſent:" and, thanks to the guard, there was no tumult. Thomas Watſon was a young man. He was thirty-three years of age in 1551, when he gave evidence on behalf of Biſhop Gardiner.† Cranmer, long ago, had ſet him in the ſtocks at Canterbury:‡ ſo, no doubt, he ſpoke very earneſtly. Thoſe who are curious as to his ſermon may find ſome account of it, written by an unfriendly hand, in Fox.* He had a goodly audience: the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, amongſt them.

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* Wriotheſley's *Chronicle*, ii. pp. 99, 100.

† Froude, *Hiſtory*, vi. p. 68.

‡ Fox, vi. p. 151. At page 205, however, he is ſaid to have been "of the age of 34 or 35 years," ſtill under the ſame date, 1551.

The time was near at hand when Roman doctrine would be heard without proteſt, if not with approval. The dominant party knew how to ſilence gainſayers. That is a leſſon which dominant parties ſoon learn.

On Monday, Auguſt 21ſt, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, recanted, and abjured the Proteſtant faith, in the Chapel of the Tower, certain of the citizens of London being preſent. The Duke prayed earneſtly for life—"Oh that it would pleaſe her good Grace to give me life, yea, the life of a dog, if I might but live and kiſs her feet, and ſpend both life and all in her honourable ſervice!" The next morning, at nine o'clock, Maſs was ſaid in the Tower Chapel. Northumberland repeated his abjuration on the ſcaffold: it was ſoon red with the blood of the Duke, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer. "On the 24th, two days after the ſcene on Tower Hill,† ſo little was a guard neceſſary, that Maſs was ſaid in S. Paul's in Latin, with matins and veſpers. The crucifix was replaced in the rood-loft, the high altar was re-decorated, the real preſence was defended from the pulpit, and except from the refugees not a murmur was heard."

And now it was eaſy to re-introduce the images which had been deſtroyed. "In the ſecond year of Mary,

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* Fox, vi. p. 768.

† Froude, *Hiſtory*, vi. pp. 66-75.

Bonner in his royalty and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's Choir, the Rood laid along upon the pavements, and alſo, the doors of Paul's being ſhut—the Biſhop with others ſaid and ſung divers prayers by the Rood. That being done, they anointed the Rood with oil in divers places; and, after the anointing, crept unto it, and kiſſed it. After that, they took the ſaid Rood, and weighed him up, and ſet him in his old accuſtomed place; and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Choir ſang *Te Deum;* and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but alſo for the notable and great part they had done therein.

"Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and ſpied the Rood with Mary and John new ſet up; whereto, among a great ſort of people, he made low courteſy, and ſaid: 'Sir, your maſterſhip is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your maſterſhip, but that ye be here clothed in the Queen's colours. I hope that ye but a ſummer's bird, in that ye be dreſſed in white and green.'"*

Once more the ebb and flow. Mary is dead, and Elizabeth reigns in her ſtead. The newly erected images are expelled. "On the euen of S. Bartholomew, the day and the morrow after, &c., were burned in Paules Churchyard, Cheape, and diuers other places of the City of London, all the roodes and other Images of the Churches, in ſome places the Coapes, veſtments, altar-clothes, books, banners, ſepulchres, and rood-lofts were burned."†

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* Fox, vi. pp. 558-559.

† Stow, *Annales*, 1559, p. 640.

In Wriotheſley's *Chronicle*[*] the ſignificant addition is made that theſe Roods and veſtments had coſt about £2,000 when they were renewed in Queen Mary's time. He ſeems to imply that the objects then conſumed were the roods and images "that ſtoode in the pariſhe churches." The Reformers were triumphant.

On Aſh-Wedneſday, 1565, a very different company aſſembled at S. Paul's. The Queen, Elizabeth, came in perſon to the Croſs, de Silva, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, at her ſide. Alexander Nowell, the Dean of S. Paul's, was the preacher. "A vaſt crowd had aſſembled—more, the Queen thought, to ſee her than to hear the ſermon. The Dean began, and had not proceeded far when he came on the ſubject of images 'which he handled roughly.'

"'Leave that alone,' Elizabeth called from her ſeat.

"The preacher did not hear, and went on with his invectives.

"'To your text, Mr. Dean,' ſhe ſhouted, raiſing her voice: 'To your text! leave that; we have heard enough of that! To your ſubject.'

"The unfortunate Doctor Nowell coloured, ſtammered out a few incoherent words, and was unable to go on. Elizabeth went off in a rage with the ambaſſador. The congregation—the Proteſtant part of it—were in tears. Archbiſhop Parker, ſeeing the Dean 'utterly diſmayed,' took him 'for pity home to Lambeth to dinner,' and wrote to Cecil a reſpectful but firm remonſtrance."*

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[*] Wriotheſley's *Chronicle*, ii. p. 146.

Nowell himſelf could ſpeak ſtrongly when he pleaſed. On the 12th of January, 1563, he and Day, the provoſt of Eton, had preached, Nowell at Weſtminſter, Day at S. Paul's. The occaſion was the opening of Parliament and of Convocation. The ſubject of both ſermons, ſays Mr. Froude,† was the ſame: "the propriety of 'killing the caged wolves'—that is to ſay the Catholic biſhops in the Tower—with the leaſt poſſible delay." The ſtatement does not reſt only upon the authority of a letter from De Quadra to Philip in the archives of Simancas, a ſource which might be thought open to ſuſpicion; but is ſupported by an extract from Dean Nowell's own Sermon, taken from a manuſcript in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, printed at the end of the ſeventh volume of Mr. Froude's *Hiſtory*.

Nowell had fallen under Elizabeth's diſpleaſure before this occaſion. He preached at S. Paul's on New Year's Day, 1562, and the Queen attended. "The Dean,‡ having met with ſeveral fine engravings, repreſenting the ſtories and paſſions of the ſaints and martyrs, had placed them againſt the epiſtles and goſpels of their reſpective feſtivals in a Common Prayer Book, which he had cauſed to be richly bound, and laid on the cuſhion for the Queen's uſe, in the place where ſhe commonly ſat: intending it for a New

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* Froude, *Hiſtory*, viii. pp. 136, 137. † *Ibid.*, vii. pp. 479, 541.

‡ Churton, *Life of Nowell*, pp. 71-73.

Year's Gift for her Majeſty, and thinking to have pleaſed her fancy therewith . . . When ſhe came to her place, and had opened the book, and ſaw the pictures, ſhe frowned and bluſhed: and then ſhutting the book (of which ſeveral took notice) she called for the verger, and bade him bring her the old book, wherein ſhe was formerly wont to read. After ſermon, whereas ſhe uſed to get immediately on horſeback or into her chariot, ſhe went ſtraight to the veſtry, and applying herſelf to the Dean, thus ſhe ſpoke to him:

"'Mr. Dean, how came it to paſs that a new ſervice book was placed on my cuſhion?'

"To which the Dean anſwered, 'May it pleaſe your Majeſty, I cauſed it to be placed there.'

"Then ſaid the Queen, 'Wherefore did you ſo?'

"'To preſent your Majeſty with a New Year's Gift.'

"'You could never preſent me with a worſe.'

"'Why ſo, Madam?'

"'You know I have an averſion to idolatry, to images, and pictures of this kind.'

"'Wherein is the idolatry, may it pleaſe your Majeſty?'

"'In the cuts reſembling angels and ſaints; nay groſſer abſurdities, pictures reſembling the Bleſſed Trinity.'

"'I meant no harm: nor did I think it would offend your Majeſty, when I intended it for a New Year's Gift.'

"'You muſt needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation againſt images, pictures, and

Romiſh reliques in the Churches? Was it not read in your Deanery?'

"'It was read. But be your Majeſty aſſured I meant no harm, when I cauſed the cuts to be bound with the ſervice book.'

"'You muſt needs be very ignorant to do this after our prohibition of them.'

"'It being my ignorance, your Majeſty may the better pardon me.'

"'I am ſorry for it, yet glad to hear it was your ignorance, rather than your opinion.'

"'Be your Majeſty aſſured, it was my ignorance.'

"'If ſo, Mr. Dean, God grant you His Spirit, and more wiſdom for the future.'

"'Amen. I pray God.'

"'I pray you, Mr. Dean, how came you by theſe pictures? Who engraved them?'

"'I know not who engraved them. I bought them.'

"'From whom bought you them?'

"'From a German.'

"'It is well it was from a ſtranger. Had it been any of our ſubjects, we ſhould have queſtioned the matter. Pray let no more of theſe miſtakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm for the future.'

"'There ſhall not.'"

Elizabeth was about eight-and-twenty when this dialogue occurred, and Nowell, a man of ripe age, about fifty-four. It is not an edifying ſpectacle, the Dean of Paul's, a grave and reverend divine, brow-beaten by an imperious young woman, though ſhe was a Queen. In 1562 ſhe rebukes him for the pictures in her Prayer Book; in 1565, *varium et mutabile ſemper*, becauſe he ſpoke againſt images. It ſeems not unlikely that he really was pointing at the crucifix ſtill ſtanding in the Royal Chapel. His tranſition, he ſays, which arouſed the Queen's diſpleaſure, was "from Dame Grace's books burned, to Images, termed the Books of Ideots, which I took as not altogether impertinent."*

He was received back, however, into the royal favour, for on Tueſday, the 20th of Auguſt, 1588, he was ſelected to give the firſt public notice, from Paul's Croſs, of the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada;† and again on the 8th of September, he performed a ſimilar duty. Eleven enſigns, taken from the Spaniards, waved from the lower battlements of S. Paul's. A ſtreamer, on which was painted the Virgin and Child, was held in a man's hand over the pulpit. On November 24th, the Queen herſelf, in a chariot of ſtate, drawn by a pair of white horſes, came in ſolemn proceſſion from Somerſet Houſe to S. Paul's, to return public thanks to Almighty God for the great victory. Aylmer, the Biſhop of London, and Dean Nowell received her at the Cathedral.

The mention of Aylmer's name recalls a remarkable and characteriſtic letter written by the Biſhop in 1581 to the then Lord Mayor, Sir James Hervey, in which the prelate lectures the Lord Mayor ſomewhat ſeverely and rates him roundly upon ſome miſconduct at Paul's Croſs. Biſhop Aylmer was evidently very angry. He plunges at once *in medias res.* "My Lord Maior," he ſays,* "I heare that yow deale very hardly with the preachers and Clergie, the ouerſight of whome god and Her Majestie hath comitted unto me. . . . Yow thou them, yow taunte them, yea ſuch as by calling are Archedecons, by lawe not enferior to yow when yow be out of your Maraltie. Your ſon beknaueth them. Wherefore if any complaine, he is like to anſwere it. . . . I paſſe ouer my ſelf, whome it pleaſeth yow to tearme familiarly by the name of Aelmer, as unreuerently as if I ſhold omitt the name of your office and call yow Haruey, which, god willing, I will not doe, to teach yow good manners. Yow ſay that when Aelmer was in Zurich, he thought c^{li} a year was enoughe for any miniſter: and ſo thought yow paraduenture in your prentiſhood, that c^{li} a year had been well for a merchaunte. Yow are glaunſing at my houſe keping, and that the B. of London feaſted the L. Maior and his bretheren: I thinke that wonte was but once, and therefore I minde not to followe it as a preſident; and as litle as yow make of Aelmers hoſpitalitie, yet if yow compare v yeres of yours with v yeres of his, his may chaunce to ouerreache your 4000 ^{li}." He proceeds in a ſimilar ſtrain, making one very good point *en paſſant*, as regards the Lord Mayor's lack of courteſy: "the nexte yere," he ſays, "I may remember it, when by gods grace I ame like to be as I ame and yow ſomewhat inferior to that that you are;" and thus he brings his vigorous letter to a cloſe: "If yow take this in good parte as coming from him that hath charge ouer yow, I ame glad. If not, I muſt tell yow your dutie out of my chaire, which is the pulpit at Poules croſſe, where yow muſt ſitt not as a iudge to comptrole, but as a ſcholler to learne: and I not as John Aelmer to be thwarted, but as John London to teache yow and all London: and if you uſe not your ſelf as an humble ſcholler, then to diſſipline yow as a teacher and prelate. Thus I bidd your L^P hartely farewell. Fullham this j. of March, 1581. Your L^{ps} louing frend and Biſſhop, John London." Did the Lord Mayor reply to his "louing frend and Biſſhop"? The anſwer would be worth reading. There was evidently an old feud between the Biſhop and the Chief Magiſtrate.

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* Churton, *Life of Nowell*, p. 111, note. † *Ibid.*, p. 293.

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* The letter was printed, I believe for the firſt time, in my *Documents*, etc., pp. 128-130.

Fuller ſays* of Aylmer that he was "one of a low ſtature but ſtout ſpirit, very valiant in his youth and witty all his life." And he tells an odd ſtory of him, that "once when his auditory began at ſermon to grow dull in their attentions, he preſently read unto them many verſes out of the Hebrew text, where at they all ſtarted, admiring what uſe he meant to make thereof. Then ſhewed he them their folly, that whereas they neglected English, whereby they might be edified, they liſtened to Hebrew, whereof they underſtood not a word."

It is even ſaid that on one occaſion, when preaching at S. Paul's, the Biſhop produced a ſkull from under his gown that he might ſtimulate the flagging attention of the congregation.*

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* Fuller, *Church Hiſtory*, edit. J. S. Brewer, vol. v. pp. 200, 201.

The Paul's Croſs preachers were wont to be received and entertained at the "Shunammite's Houſe:" a houſe ſo called becauſe "beſides the ſtipend paid the preacher, there is proviſion made alſo for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his ſermon."† To this houſe, in or about the year 1581, came Richard Hooker wet, weary, and weather-beaten; worn out by his long ride upon an ill-paced horſe which would not trot. The houſe was kept at that time by one John Churchman, ſometime a draper of good note in Watling Street, but who had fallen into poverty. Mrs. Churchman nurſed the great theologian carefully, gave him a warm bed, and proper food, and by her diligent attendance ſo far cured his cold that he was able to preach his ſermon, whereof he had deſpaired. But her kindneſs was fatal to his peace. Mrs. Churchman deluded the good ſimple man—(Fuller‡ ſpeaks of his "dove-like ſimplicity")—perſuaded him "that he was a man of a tender conſtitution"—and "that it was beſt for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurſe to him; ſuch an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable"—nay, ſhe went on to ſay, that "ſuch an one ſhe could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." He was entrapped into a marriage with Mrs. Churchman's daughter, who had "neither beauty nor portion:" and, worſe ſtill, was of a ſhrewd temper. She proved a thorough Xantippe. As Melancthon was ſeen by a friend with a book in one hand, whilſt the other rocked a cradle; ſo, when two of his college friends came to viſit him, "Richard was called to rock the cradle." Profound theological learning had not made him a match for a deſigning mother and an ill-conditioned daughter.

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* Mackenzie Walcott, *Traditions and Cuſtoms*, p. 87.

† Walton's *Life of Hooker*, prefixed to Keble's edition of Hooker's *Works*, i. pp. 22, 23 (5th edit.).

‡ Fuller, *Hiſtory*, v. p. 235.

In 1595, November 17th, "a day of great triumph for the long and proſperous raigne of her Majestie at London, the Pulpit Croſſe in Paules Churchyard was new repayred, and partly incloſed with a wal of bricke," as Stow records in his *Annals*. "Doctour Fletcher, Biſhop of London, preached there in prayſe of the queene." The trumpets ſounded upon the church leads, the cornets winded, "the quiriſters ſung an antheme;" on the ſteeple many lights were burned, the Tower ſhot off her ordnance, the bells were rung, and bonfires made.

On May 30th, 1630, King Charles I., having attended divine Service in S. Paul's Cathedral, "went into a roome and heard the Sermon at Paules Croſſe." Three years later, in 1633, the Sermons which uſually had been preached at the Croſs were removed into the Choir of the Cathedral.* The Vergers, in a Petition preſerved amongſt the State Papers,[*] ſays that "for the repaire of the Church the Sermons appointed for the Croſs were remooved from the yard into the Quire." There is good reaſon to believe that about this time the Croſs itſelf was taken down.

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* Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, p. 91, note.

Dugdale ſtates, very plainly, that in "1643, Iſaac Penington being Lord Mayor, the famous Croſs in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the moſt noted and ſolemn place in this nation, for the graveſt divines and greateſt ſcholars to preach at, was, with the reſt of the croſſes about London and Weſtminſter, by further order of the ſaid Parliament pulled down to the ground."[†] This is a very clear and definite ſtatement; but is it accurate? It has been repeated without queſtion again and again.[‡] There is a view in Wilkinſon's *Londina Illuſtrata* repreſenting the pulling down of *Cheapſide Croſs*, and on the plate is engraved a ſhort account which ſtates that it was pulled down on the 2nd of May, 1643, and that on May 10th, the Book of Sports was burnt by the common hangman on the place where the Croſs had ſtood. It is uſually ſuppoſed that Paul's Croſs fell at the ſame time, but Profeſſor Gardiner has brought under my notice a paſſage from a ſomewhat rare tract, *A dialogue between the Croſſe in Cheap and Charing Croſs*, publiſhed in 1641, which ſerves to caſt conſiderable doubt upon the commonly received opinion.

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[*] Printed in my *Documents*, pp. 140, 141.

[†] *S. Paul's*, p. 109.

[‡] I have lately repeated it (alas !) in *Documents*, etc. (Camden Society).

The Croſs in Cheap and Charing Croſs are holding a converſation, and the following words are ſpoken:

"*Char.* Paul's Croſſe, the moſt famous preaching place, is downe and quite taken away.

"*Cheap.* It is true, but with an intent to be built fairer and bigger when the Church ſhall be finiſhed."

If Paul's Croſs was "downe and quite taken away" in 1641, it is exceedingly improbable that it was re-erected in time to be pulled down by the Lord Mayor in 1643. It was certainly down on May 16th, 1643, for on that day a Court was holden under the preſidency of Sir Iſaac Pennington, when a petition was read from the Pariſhioners of "ffaithes vnder Paules Church," in which complaint is made that the "Stones, rubbiſh, pales, and ſheds" in the Churchyard are of much detriment to the Pariſhioners and are a hindrance to the entrance of light into their houſes. The Court orders that the obſtructions be removed; and further appoints Sir John Gayre, Knight and Alderman, and Mr. Alderman Gibbs, "to conſider of a convenient and fitt place within the ſaid yard for a pulpitt to ſtand in, and alſo of a convenient place for the Lord Maior and Aldermen to ſitt in to heare the Word of God preached as heretofore hath byn accuſtomed vpon the Lords day." The ſaid Aldermen are "to certefie vnto this Court theyre doeings and opinions."*

It muſt be confeſſed that Sir Iſaac Pennington has been wronged in this matter. Certainly his other deeds would not lead one to think that he would have had any diſlike to pull down a Croſs; but probably Paul's Croſs had nothing about it to offend him, ſave, indeed, the Croſs at its ſummit. No figures of ſaints, no effigy of the Virgin and Child, as at Cheapſide Croſs, would have ſtirred his wrath: Paul's Croſs was but an outdoor pulpit.

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* Records in the Guildhall. Repertory, 56, 1642-43 (unpubliſhed).

If the evidence of the tract juſt cited is to be believed—and there ſeems no reaſon to doubt it—the Croſs had been taken down only in order that it might be rebuilt "fairer and bigger" when the Church was finiſhed.

Dugdale, however, who died on February 10th, 1685—and worthy Thomas Fuller, who died Auguſt 16th, 1661—might fairly have been ſuppoſed to give us good teſtimony upon a contemporary event. The latter ſays, "No zealot reformer (whilſt Egypt was Chriſtian) demoliſhed *the Pyramids* under the notion of Pagan Monuments."* And afterwards, regretting the deſtruction of Paul's Croſs, he ſays, "Methinks, though idle croſſes, ſtanding only for ſhow, were publiſhed for offenders, this uſeful one which did ſuch ſervice, might have been ſpared. But all is fiſh which comes to the net of ſacrilege." It was "guilty of no other ſuperſtition ſave accommodating the preacher and ſome about him with convenient places."†

The *Charge Books* of the Cathedral throw ſome light upon this difficult point: for in June, 1635, labourers were employed in carrying away "the Lead, Timber, &c., that were pull'd downe of the Roomes where the Prebends of the Church, the Doctors of the Law, and the Pariſhioners of St. ffaith's did ſett to heare Sermons at St. Pauls Croſſe." Extenſive repairs were, at this time, being carried out at the Eaſtern end and Northern ſide of the Cathedral. The volume* from which the above paſſage is taken is one of the *Charge Books*, finely tranſcribed on vellum; the laſt page bears, amongſt other ſignatures, thoſe of Archbiſhop Laud, Biſhop Juxon, Lord Arundel and Surrey, Lord Mancheſter, Inigo Jones, and Windebank. Succeeding entries in the ſame volume render it highly probable that the Croſs had previouſly been taken down, and that preparations were being made for its re-erection.

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* *Pisgah-Sight*, iiv. p. 83. See Mr. J. E. Bailey's excellent *Life of Fuller*, p. 442.

† Fuller's *Worthies of England*, edit. 1840, ii. pp. 136, 137.

Certainly the Croſs had been moſt impartial. Every phaſe of religious opinion had found expreſſion there. Hear what Carlyle† ſays: "Paul's Croſs was a kind of Stone Tent, with leaden roof, at the N.E. corner of Paul's Cathedral, where ſermons were ſtill, and had long been, preached in the open air; crowded devout congregations gathering there, with forms to ſit on, if you came early. Queen Elizabeth uſed to 'tune her pulpits,' ſhe ſaid, when there was any great thing on hand; as Governing Perſons now ſtrive to tune the Morning Newſpapers. Paul's Croſs, a kind of *Times Newſpaper*, but edited partly by Heaven itſelf, was then a moſt important entity!"

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* Preſerved amongſt the archives of the Cathedral. Preſſ-mark, W. F. 4.

† *Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell*, edit. 1873, i. pp. 55, 56.

In proceſs of time the preciſe ſite of Paul's Croſs was forgotten. It was reſerved for Mr. Penroſe, the Cathedral Surveyor,* to ſearch diligently for it and to find it. The outline of the octagonal baſe may now be ſeen, in the churchyard, at the N.E. angle of the Choir of the preſent Cathedral. A portion of the *podium* coincides with the wall of the exiſting church: it would have been about twelve feet diſtant from the walls of old S. Paul's. Mr. Penroſe has favoured the writer with a ſketch of his diſcoveries, from which it appears that the octagonal baſe meaſured about thirty-ſeven feet acroſs. The ſides of the octagon were not parallel to the axis of the old Cathedral, but four of the ſides faced very nearly to the four cardinal points. The platform itſelf was ſupported by a vault. A brick wall was found which probably carried the timber ſupports of the pulpit proper. The probable diameter of the pulpit itſelf was eighteen feet.

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* On April 2, 1879, I had the great pleaſure of receiving a note from Mr. Penroſe, in which he wrote, "We have found the foundation of S. Paul's Croſs."

PAUL'S WALK.

CHAPTER XIII.

PAUL'S WALK.

THE grand and ſpacious Nave of the Cathedral obtained the name of Paul's Walk: a name only too ſuggeſtive of the profanations of which it became the ſcene. It was the common lounge of the idler, the Fop's Alley of the day. It will be remembered that there were two doors exactly oppoſite to each other, piercing the north and ſouth walls, about the middle of the Nave; and that there were grand entrances at each of the tranſepts. Theſe two ſets of doors, immediately oppoſite to each other, were only too ſuggeſtive to the profane of the eaſe with which a ſhort cut might be made from one ſide of the churchyard to the other. A common thoroughfare was ſoon eſtabliſhed. Preſently men were not ſatiſfied with merely paſſing through the Church. The porter with his heavy burden on his ſhoulders, the water-carrier with his buckets, found it pleaſant enough to ſet down their burdens, and to reſt in the cool ſhade of the maſſive pillars. Nor was this all, for both men and women ſoon began to bring their wares into the holy place, and to buy and ſell and get gain. As early as the year 1385, Biſhop Braybrooke, from his Palace hard by the Cathedral, writes a very vigorous letter to his faithful laity upon the ſubject of the buyers and ſellers in the Church of S. Paul.* He calls to mind the example of the Divine Redeemer, who viſited the Temple at Jeruſalem, and "ſeeing that the people were more intent on buying and ſelling than on prayers," caſt out the offenders, and proclaimed that they had made the Houſe of God a den of thieves. So, alas, it had come to paſs that in the very Cathedral of S. Paul on ordinary days, and ſtill more on feſtival days, men and women thronged to the holy place with their merchandiſe. There, at their ſeveral ſtanding places, juſt as in a public market, they expoſed their wares. Other pollutions took place which revealed themſelves not only to the eyes but alſo to the noſtrils of the faithful. Some took delight in hurling ſtones at the crows, pigeons, and other birds, which built their neſts about the towers and battlements; whilſt ſome, more daring ſtill, ſhot at them with arrows and croſs-bow bolts, breaking the pictured windows, and even the ſtatues which graced the exterior. Solemn monition is to be given by all Rectors, Vicars, Curates, and other Clergy throughout the City of London to their people, abſolutely forbidding ſuch profanations, under pain of the Greater Excommunication. And if, after the monition had been thrice repeated, any were ſo bold as to tranſgreſs, the offenders were to be publicly excommunicated in due form, with bells, candles, and croſs.

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* I have printed the letter, from the original entry in Biſhop Braybrooke's Regiſter, in my *Statuta S. Pauli*, pp. 391-2.

The Statutes of the Cathedral, however, prove that the abuſes continued. One Statute, in particular, provides that if the buyers and ſellers deſpiſed the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the vergers ſhould ſeize upon their wares and caſt them on the pavement.* Nor muſt it be ſuppoſed that ſuch evil practices were peculiar to S. Paul's. The ancient Statutes of Wells Cathedral contain a ſimilar clause,† and the like abuſes were common enough elſewhere. At Exeter it was the firſt act of Seth Ward (afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury) on his appointment as Dean in 1661, to "caſt out of the Temple the Buyers and Sellers, who had uſurp'd it, and therein kept diſtinct ſhops to vent‡ their Ware," as Dr. Walter Pope, his biographer, records. "At Durham there was a regular thoroughfare acroſs the nave until 1750, and at Norwich until 1748, when Biſhop Gooch ſtopped it. The naves of York and Durham were faſhionable promenades. The Confeſſor's Chapel made, on occaſion, a convenient play-ground for Weſtminſter Scholars, who were allowed, as late as 1829, to keep the ſcenes for their annual play in the triforium of the north tranſept."§

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* *Statuta S. Pauli*, p. 79.

† *Statuta Wellens:* Lambeth Library, MS. No. 929, p. 60.

‡ So in original. Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 8vo, London, 1697, p. 55.

§ Abbey and Overton's *Engliſh Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. p. 419.

If ſuch flagrant abuſes were common before the Reformation, when the Church was full of Altars, venerated images, ſhrines, and paintings, it can hardly be matter of ſurpriſe that they were greatly augmented when the Altars were deſtroyed and the ſculpture and painting were alike removed. The Divine Service was ſaid for the moſt part in the Choir, which was ſhut off from the reſt of the Church by its cloſe ſcreen. The broad nave and tranſepts ceaſed to be regarded as holy.

In 1598, Biſhop Bancroft held a Viſitation of the Cathedral; ſome of the returns made by the Clergy and Officials are ſtill preſerved in the Cathedral Record Room.* They diſcloſe a lamentable ſtate of things. One of the Vergers ſtates that the Nave was "a comon paſſage and thorowfaire for all kinde of Burden-bearing people, as Colliers with ſacks of Coles, Porters with Baſkettes of fleſhe, and ſuch like." Another perſon complains "that Porters, Butchers, Water-berers, and who not? be ſuffred, in ſpeciall in tyme of ſervice, to carrye and recarrye whatſoever, no man withſtandynge them or gaynſayenge them." Even the choriſter boys, "the children of the queer," were eager in ſearch of ſpur money; and there was "ſuche noyſe of children and others in the ſide chaples and churche at the devine ſervice and ſermondes that a man may ſcarce be hearde for the noyſe of them." Spur-money was a fee claimed by choriſter boys from any perſon entering the church wearing ſpurs. The perſon from whom it was claimed had, however, the right of calling on the youngeſt choriſter to ſing his gamut; if he failed to do ſo, the ſpur-wearer eſcaped ſcot-free. It is ſaid that the Duke of Wellington was challenged by one of the boys at the Chapel Royal, but that he eſcaped by this device. The cuſtom lingered at Peterborough as late as 1847.* In the Privy Purſe Expenſes of Henry VII. occurs this entry:

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* I have printed a ſelection from theſe in *Statuta S. Pauli*, pp. 276-278.

"1495. Oct. To the children, for the King's ſpoures 4s.": from which it would appear that even Kings were not exempt from the payment.

The alluſions to Paul's Walk in the literature of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries are very frequent and are well known. A few only ſhall be cited here.

In *The Burnynge of Paules Church*, a rare little book, printed in 1562-3, Biſhop Pilkington ſays: "The South Alley for Uſurye and Popery, the North for Simony, and the Horſe Faire in the middeſt for all kind of bargains, metings, brawlinges, morthers, conſpiracies, and the Font for ordinarie paymentes of money, are ſo well knowen to all menne as the begger knowes his diſhe."†

There was a "Serving man's pillar," where ſervants out of place waited to be hired. Falſtaff, it will be remembered, engaged Bardolph as his ſervant in Paul's:

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* *Statuta S. Pauli*, p. 275, note.

† *The Burnynge*, etc. G. iiii.

> "*Fal.* Where's Bardolph?
> *Page.* He's gone into Smithfield, to buy your worſhip a horſe.
> *Fal.* I bought him in Paul's, and he'll buy me a horſe in Smithfield."*

Ben Jonſon lays the ſcene of the third Act of his play, *Every Man out of his Humour*, in Paul's Walk.

John Chamberlain, ſon of an Alderman of London, interchanged a good deal of correſpondence with Dudley Carleton, afterwards Lord Viſcount Dorcheſter, and the following paſſages from the letters that paſſed between them will ſhow that in the year 1600 Paul's Walk was the common place of meeting and of goſſip for London loungers:†

"Nobody in Powles, *ſolitudo ante oſtium* in Little Britain, and all as cloſe and quiet as if it were midnight."

"Powles is ſo furniſht that it affords whatſoever is ſtirring in France, and I can gather there at firſt hand to ſerve my turne ſufficiently."

"Here is nobody to talk with, for Pauls is as empty as a barn at Midſummer."

Biſhop Corbet, who loved the Cathedral, and delivered a very quaint and forcible Charge to the Clergy of his Dioceſe of Norwich,‡ urging them to contribute to its reſtoration; yet could ſpeak in ſuch terms as theſe in his *Elegie written upon the death of Dr. Ravis, Biſhop of London*, who died in 1609:

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* *Henry IV.*, Pt. 2, A. i. Sc. 2.

† *Chamberlain's Letters*, pp. 88, 176; and *Calendar of State Papers*, Eliz., vol. 275.

‡ Printed in my *Documents*, etc. pp. 134-139.

"When I paſt Paules, and travell'd in that walke
Where all oure Brittaine-ſinners ſweare and talke;
Ould Harry-ruffians, bankerupts, ſuthe ſayers,
And youth, whoſe couſenage is as ould as theirs."

Samuel Speed, in *The Legend of his Grace Humphrey, Duke of S. Paul's Cathedral Walk*, ſays, in 1674:

"Some with their beads unto a pillar crowd,
Some mutter forth, ſome ſay their graces loud;
Some on devotion come to feed their muſe;
Some come to ſleep, or walk, or talk of news."

But Biſhop Earle—he was Biſhop, ſucceſſively, of Worceſter and of Saliſbury, and a ſtaunch royaliſt—gives a ſingularly graphic account of Paul's Walk in his very quaint and remarkable book, *Microcoſmography*, firſt publiſhed in 1628. It is really worth while to extract the whole paſſage.*

"*Paul's Walk* is the land's epitome, or you may call it the leſſer iſle of Great Britain. It is more than this, the whole world's map, which you may here diſcern in its perfecteſt motion, juſtling and turning. It is a heap of ſtones and men, with a vaſt confuſion of languages; and, were the ſteeple not ſanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noiſe in it is like that of bees, a ſtrange humming or buzz mixed of walking, tongues, and feet: it is a kind of ſtill roar, or loud whiſper. It is the great exchange of all diſcourſe, and no buſineſs whatſoever but is here ſtirring and afoot. It is the ſynod of all pates politick, jointed and laid together in moſt ſerious poſture, and they are not half ſo buſy at the parliament. It is the antick of tails to tails, and backs to backs, and for vizards you need go no farther than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and ſizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of popery, firſt coined and ſtamped in the church. All inventions are emptied here, and not few pockets. The beſt ſign of a temple in it is, that it is the thieves' ſanctuary, which rob more ſafely in the crowd than a wilderneſs, whilſt every ſearcher is a buſh to hide them. It is the other expence of the day, after plays, tavern, and a bawdy-houſe; and men have ſtill ſome oaths left to ſwear here. It is the ear's brothel, and ſatiſfies their luſt and itch. The viſitants are all men without exceptions, but the principal inhabitants and poſſeſſors are ſtale knights and captains* out of ſervice; men of long rapiers and breeches, which after all turn merchants here and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a ſtomach; but thriftier men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all ſuch places it is leaſt haunted with hobgoblins, for if a ghoſt would walk more he could not."

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* From the edition edited by Dr. Bliſs in 1811, pp. 116–119.

Certainly the Biſhop writes with an unſparing pen. It has been thought better to preſent the picture exactly as he has drawn it, without ſoftening the more repulſive features.

Other alluſions to the ſubject will be found in *The*

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* In the *Dramatis Perſonæ* to Ben Jonſon's *Every Man in his Humour*, Bobadil is ſtyled a *Paul's Man.*

Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie; or, The Walkes in Powles, a unique tract; the only copy known is in the Bodleian Library. It was printed in 1604, and was reprinted by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps for the Percy Society in 1841.* The following paſſage occurs in it:

"But ſee yonder Signior Stramazoon and Signior Kickſhawe, now of a ſuddaine allighted in Powles with their durtie Bootes. Lets encounter them at the fift Pillar; in them you ſhall finde my talke verified, and the faſhion truly pictured. . . Mee thinkes, Signiors, this middle of Powles lookes ſtrange and bare, like a long-hayrde Gentleman new powlde, waſht and ſhaued. And I may fitly ſay ſhaued, for there was neuer a luſty Shauer ſeene walking here this halfe yeare; eſpecially if he loued his life, hee would reuolt from Duke Humfrey, and rather bee a Wood-cleauer in the Countrey, then a cheſt-breaker in London. But what Gallants march vp a pace now, Signiors; how are the high waies fild to London?"

Even the very dreſſes of the Gallants are thought worthy of notice:

"But ſee how we haue loſt our ſelues. Powles is changde into Gallants, and thoſe which I ſaw come vp in old Taffata Doublets yeſterday are ſlipt into nine yardes of Sattin to-day."

Our laſt reference ſhall be to Thomas Decker's *The Gul's Horn-booke*, imprinted at London in 1609.† A whole Chapter in this book (Chapter IV.), is devoted to the ſubject, " How a Gallant ſhould behave himſelf in Paul's Walks;" and if our extracts be rather lengthy, there will be ſome excuſe for the length, in the minuteneſs and value of the details that are given.

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* The reprint itſelf has now become ſcarce. The paſſages cited will be found at pages 11 and 14 of the Reprint.

† The quotations are taken from the reprint edited in 1872 by Charles Hindley.

" Your mediterranean iſle* is then the only gallery, wherein the pictures of all your true faſhionate and complemental Gulls are and ought to be hung up. Into that gallery carry your neat body; but take heed you pick out ſuch an hour, when the main ſhoal of iſlanders are ſwimming up and down. . . .

" Be circumſpect, and wary what pillar you come in at; and take heed in any caſe, as you love the reputation of your honour, that you avoid the ſerving-man's log, and approach not within five fathom of that pillar: but bend your courſe directly in the middle line, that the whole body of the Church may appear to be yours; where, in view of all, you may publiſh your ſuit in what manner you affect moſt, either with the ſlide of your cloak from the one ſhoulder; and then you muſt, as 'twere in anger, ſuddenly ſnatch at the middle of the inſide, if it be taffeta at the leaſt; and ſo by that means your coſtly lining is betrayed, or elſe by the pretty advantage of compliment. But one note by the way do I eſpecially woo you to, the neglect of which makes many of our gallants cheap and ordinary, that by no means you be ſeen above four turns; but in the fifth make yourſelf away, either in ſome of the ſeamſter's ſhops, the new tobacco-office, or amongſt the book ſellers, where, if you cannot read, exerciſe your ſmoke, and enquire who has writ againſt this divine weed. For this withdrawing yourſelf a little will much benefit your ſuit, which elſe, by too long walking, would be ſtale to the whole ſpectators; but howſoever, if Paul's Jacks* be once up with their elbows, and quarrelling to ſtrike eleven, as ſoon as ever the clock has parted them and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the Duke's gallery † contain you any longer, but paſs away apace in open view. In which departure, if by chance you either encounter, or aloof off throw your inquiſitive eye upon any knight or squire, being your familiar, ſalute him not by his name of Sir ſuch a one, or ſo; but call him Ned, or Jack, &c. This will ſet off your eſtimation with great men. And if, though there be a dozen companies between you, 'tis the better, he call aloud to you, for that is moſt genteel, to know where he ſhall find you at two o'clock; tell him at ſuch an Ordinary, or ſuch: and be ſure to name thoſe that are deareſt, and whither none but your gallants reſort. After dinner you may appear again, having tranſlated yourſelf out of your Engliſh cloth cloak into a light Turkey grogram, if you have that happineſs of ſhifting. And then be ſeen, for a turn or two, to correct your teeth with ſome quill or ſilver inſtrument, and to cleanſe your gums with a wrought handkerchief: it ſkills not whether you dined or no, that is beſt known to your ſtomach; or in what place you dined, though it were with cheeſe of your own mother's making, in your chamber or ſtudy.

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* The middle aiſle (as people incorrectly call it) of the Nave.

"Now if you chance to be a gallant not much croſſed among citizens; that is, a gallant in the mercer's books, exalted for ſatins and velvets; if you be not ſo much bleſſt to be croſſed; (as I hold it the greateſt bleſſing in the world to be great in no man's books) your Paul's Walk is your only refuge; the Duke's tomb is a ſanctuary, and will keep you alive from worms, and land rats that long to be feeding on your carcaſe. There you may ſpend your legs in winter a whole afternoon; converſe, plot, laugh, and talk anything: jeſt at your creditor, even to his face, and in the evening, even by lamplight, ſteal out, and ſo cozen a whole covey of abominable catchpoles. Never be ſeen to mount the ſteps into the Choir but upon a high feſtival day, to prefer the faſhion of your doublet: and eſpecially if the ſinging-boys ſeem to take note of you, for they are able to buzz your praiſes above their anthems, if their voices have not loſt their [freſhneſs]. But be ſure your ſilver ſpurs dog your heels, and then the boys will ſwarm about you like ſo many white butterflies; when you in the open choir ſhall draw forth a perfumed embroidered purſe, the glorious ſight of which will entice many countrymen from their devotion to wondering, and quoit ſilver into the boys' hands that it may be heard above the firſt leſſon, although it be read in a voice as big as one of the great organs.

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* Figures ſtriking the hours.

† An alluſion to Duke Humfrey.

"This noble and notable act being performed, you are to vaniſh preſently out of the Choir and to appear again in the Walk. But in any wiſe be not obſerved to tread there long alone, for fear you be ſuſpected to be a gallant caſhiered from the ſociety of captains and fighters. . . .

"All the diſeaſed horſes in a tedious ſiege cannot ſhow ſo many faſhions as are to be ſeen for nothing every day in Duke Humphrey's Walk. If, therefore, you determine to enter into a new ſuit, warn your tailor to attend you in Paul's, who, with his hat in his hand, ſhall like a ſpy diſcover the ſtuff, colour, and faſhion of any doublet or hoſe that dare be ſeen there: and, ſtepping behind a pillar to fill his table-books with thoſe notes, will preſently ſend you into the world an accompliſhed man: by which means you ſhall wear your clothes in print with the firſt edition. But if fortune favour you ſo much as to make you no more than a mere country gentleman, or but ſome degrees removed from him, (for which I ſhould be very ſorry, becauſe your London experience will coſt you dear before you ſhall have the wit to know what you are) then take this leſſon along with you: the firſt time that you venture into Paul's, paſs through the body of the Church like a porter, yet preſume not to fetch ſo much as one whole turn in the middle iſle, no nor to caſt an eye to *Si quis* door, paſted and plaſtered up with ſerving-men's ſupplications, before you have paid tribute to the top of Paul's Steeple with a ſingle penny. . . . Before you come down again I would deſire you to draw your knife, and grave your name, or, for want of a name, the mark which you clap on your ſheep, in great characters upon the leads, by a number of your brethren, both citizens and country gentlemen. And ſo you ſhall be ſure to have your name lie in a coffin of lead, when yourſelf ſhall be wrapped in a winding-ſheet; and, indeed, the top of Paul's contains more names than Stow's *Chronicle*.

"Theſe lofty tricks being played, and you, thanks to your feet, being ſafely arrived at the ſtairs' foot again, your next worthy work, is to repair to my lord Chancellor's tomb;* and, if you can but reaſonably ſpell, beſtow ſome time upon the reading of Sir Philip Sidney's brief epitaph.† In the compaſs of an hour you may make ſhift to ſtumble it out. The great dial is your laſt monument: there beſtow ſome half of the threeſcore minutes to obſerve the saucineſs of the Jacks that are above the man in the moon there; the ſtrangeneſs of the motion will quit your labour. Beſides, you may here have fit occaſion to diſcover your watch, by taking it forth, and ſetting the wheels to the time of Paul's; which, I aſſure you, goes truer by five notes than S. Sepulchre's chimes. The benefit that will ariſe from hence is this, that you publiſh your charge in maintaining a gilded clock, and withal the world ſhall know that you are a time-pleaſer. By this, I imagine, you have walked your bellyful: and thereupon being weary, or, which rather I believe, being moſt gentlemanlike hungry, it is fit that I brought you into the Duke; ſo becauſe he follows the faſhion of great men, in keeping no houſe, and that therefore you muſt go ſeek your dinner; ſuffer me to take you by the hand and lead you into an Ordinary."

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* The huge monument to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, K.G., Lord Chancellor.

† The epitaph as given by Dugdale (p. 72) compriſes only eight lines of Engliſh verſe:

"England, Netherlands, the Heavens and the Arts,
The Souldiers and the World, have made ſix parts
Of noble Sidney; for none will ſuppoſe
That a ſmall heape of ſtones can Sidney encloſe.
His Bodie hath England, for ſhe it bred,
Netherlands his Blood in her defence ſhed,
The Heavens have his Soule, the Arts have his Fame,
All Souldiers the grief, the World his good Name."

The quotation is of great length; but the light which it caſts upon Paul's Walk juſtifies its introduction here. It might be thought that as Decker, its author, was a playwright, he has given us more of fancy and imagination than of real hiſtory. But the previous extracts from official documents, ſuch as preſentments at an epiſcopal viſitation; the paſſages from private letters; the unbiaſſed evidence of Biſhop Corbet, and, indeed, the concurring teſtimony of contemporary literature—all tend to ſhow that the picture is not overdrawn. Paul's Walk was, as was ſaid at the beginning of this chapter, the Fop's Alley of the day: and the noiſe and buſy profanity of the Nave even ſurged in upon Divine Service in the Choir.

Biſhop Hall has much to ſay about *Si Quis* Door:*

"Saw'ſt thou euer *Siquis* patch'd on Paul's Church Dore,
To ſeek ſome vacant Vicarage before?
Who wants a Churchman that can ſeruice ſay,
Read faſt and faire his monthly Homiley?
And wed, and bury, and make Chriſten-ſoules?
Come to the left-ſide Alley of Saint Poules.
Thou ſeruile Foole: why could'ſt thou not repaire
To buy a Benefice at Steeple-Faire?
There moughteſt thou for but a ſlender price
Aduowſon thee with ſome fat benefice:
Or if thee liſt not wayt for dead mens' ſhoon,
Nor pray ech morn th' Incumbents days wer done:
A thouſand Patrons thither ready bring
Their new-falne Churches to the Chaffering;

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* *Virgidemiarum*, 12mo., London, 1597, Lib. ii. Sat. 7, quoted in Dugdale, p. 107.

> Stake three yeares Stipend ; no man aſketh more :
> Go, take poſſeſſion of the Church-Porch-doore,
> And ring thy bels : lucke-ſtroken in thy fiſt :
> The Parſonage is thine, or ere thou wiſt.
> Saint Fooles of Gotam mought thy pariſh bee,
> For this thy baſe and ſeruile Symonie."

It would appear that even ſo late as 1711, when Pope publiſhed his *Eſſay on Criticiſm* there was ſtill great room for amendment. For he ſays :

> " No place ſo ſacred from ſuch fops is barr'd,
> Nor is Paul's Church more ſafe than Paul's Churchyard :
> Nay, fly to altars ; there they'll talk you dead ;
> For fools ruſh in where angels fear to tread."*

Even in 1724 when Biſhop Gibſon viſited the Cathedral, he records that " There hath grown an evil cuſtom of great numbers of perſons walking and talking in the body of the Cathedral Church during the time of Divine Service in the Choir, and more eſpecially on the Lord's Day, to the great diſturbance of the ſaid Service, and the profanation of the houſe of God, and the offence of many ſerious and good Chriſtians." And he enjoins the Dean and Reſidentiaries " to prevent the ſame for the future," and if neceſſary, to put in action the ſtatute made in the firſt year of William and Mary, *cap.* 18, againſt any who " willingly and of purpoſe maliciouſly and contemptuouſly come into any Cathedral or Pariſh Church, and diſquiet or diſturb the ſame."† It is to be ſuppoſed that the vigorous courſe of action recommended by the Biſhop produced its natural effect.

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* *Eſſay*, vv. 623–626.

† *Statuta*, p. 311.

S. PAUL'S DURING THE INTERREGNUM.

CHAPTER XIV.

S. PAUL'S DURING THE INTERREGNUM.

THE firſt edition of Sir William Dugdale's *Hiſtory of S. Paul's Cathedral* was iſſued in 1658; "making therefore its period," as its author ſays in the preface to the ſecond edition (printed in 1716), "with the commencement of the late wicked Rebellion raiſed by the Sectaries and their Adherents." He, naturally enough, does not enlarge very much upon the fortunes of the Cathedral during the times of the Interregnum. If he ſays but little, however, that little is worthy of attention. We are able, from other ſources, from Documents preſerved at the Record Office and elſewhere, to add ſome details of conſiderable intereſt to thoſe who, having ſeen the Cathedral in its ſplendour, can bear to look upon it in its humiliation.

Charles I. ſuffered on Tueſday, 30th January, 1648-9, and Oliver Cromwell was not proclaimed Protector till 16th December, 1653. Long before the death of the King the troubles began.

From time to time there were ſerious diſturbances cauſed by the unruly ſoldiery. In a letter ſent from London by one Andrew Newport to Sir Richard Leveſon,* 28th January, 1639-40, the writer ſays that "a troop of horſe and a company of foot laſt night broke open the houſe of a draper in Paul's Churchyard, and carried away £4000 to Whitehall, for which they would ſhow the draper (a Common Councilman) no order. To-day the man was attending at the Parliament door, but what ſatiſfaction he hath I do not yet hear." Drapers, at that time, had their head-quarters in Paternoſter Row: "this ſtreet, before the Fire of London, was taken up by eminent mercers, ſilkmen, and lacemen."† Pepys has recorded, amongſt other matters of equal importance, that on 17th May, 1662, he and his wife, with Lady Sandwich, went "on foot to Paternoſter Row, to buy a petticoat againſt the Queen's coming, for my lady, of plain ſatin."

Sectaries and fanatics propounded their opinions in public places. Amongſt the Acts of the Court of High Commiſſion in the year 1640 is an entry relating to one James Hunt, of Sevenoaks, Kent. "The Court being informed that Hunt was a fanatic and frantic perſon, a huſbandman, and altogether illiterate, who took upon him to preach and expound the Scriptures, and was lately taken abſurdly preaching on a ſtone in S. Paul's Churchyard, ordered him to be committed to Bridewell and remain there till further orders."‡

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* Duke of Sutherland's MSS., *Hiſtorical MSS. Commiſſion*, vol. v. p. 132, *a*.

† Strype's *Stow*, Book iii. p. 195.

‡ *Calendar of State Papers, Domeſtic*, 1640 p. 415.

In November of the ſame year, John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, writes: "In Paules Church lately, a great tumult againſt Doctor Ducke and others in the High Commiſſion within the Conſiſtory; who eſcaping, much outrage was ſhewed in the Conſiſtorie to the ſeates, &c. The Biſhops, guarded with muſket-men, came to the Convocation-houſe."* This is, in all probability, a brief notice of the ſerious riot more fully recorded by Collier† under the date 21ſt October, 1640. "When the High Commiſſion ſat at S. Paul's, about two thouſand Browniſts inſulted the Court, pulled down all the benches in the Conſiſtory, and cried out they would have no Biſhops and no High Commiſſion. Thus the king, by this tumult, was put to the expenſe of ordering a guard for S. Paul's, as he had done before at Weſtminſter, for the protection of the Convocation. On the 3rd of November, the Long Parliament, which proved ſo fatal to the King, met at Weſtminſter."

Preachers thought it neceſſary to allude to the troubles of the times in their public ſermons. "Upon Tueſday, Nov. 17," ſtill in the year 1640, "when the faſt was kept at London for the Parliament, &c., I was at S. Paul's Church," ſays John Rous‡ "where one Mr. Stanwicke (or Kanwicke), a Chaplain to my lord of Ely, preached on Nehemiah i. verſe 4, who, upon juſt occaſion, in opening the ſtory of the Jewiſh preſſures and calamities which cauſed Nehemiah to faſt,

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* *Diary of John Rous* (Camden Society), p. 99.

† *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain*, vol. viii. p. 184.

‡ *Diary of John Rous*, p. 103.

&c., did ſay that the care of the Jews to have Jeruſalem rebuilded in her walls and the gates ſet up, *was not to mainteine rebellion and keepe out the King's authority*, but to defend themſelves againſt Tobiah, Sanballah, and ſuch great men as under the King (whom they flattered with lies) ſought to oppreſſe them." Vigorous preaching that! and going ſtraight to the mark.

In 1642 "a deſign was now forming in the Parliament for lopping the revenues of the Church, and ſuppreſſing the Deaneries and Chapters." Dr. John Hacket, prebendary of S. Paul's and archdeacon of Bedford, was ſelected by the Clergy to plead their cauſe before the Houſe of Commons. The heads of his ſpeech may be read in Collier.* He commenced with a brief apology; he was ſtraitened in time—the buſineſs had been put upon him only the afternoon before—the objections to be offered againſt the Cathedral bodies had not been ſubmitted to him. He defended the public prayers of the Church, and ſhowed the benefit of preaching in Cathedrals, on weekdays as well as on Sundays—which indeed had been the cuſtom ever ſince the Reformation, in accordance with the Statutes of theſe mother Churches. Each Cathedral was a ſort of univerſity in little and a ſchool of learning; he offered to produce, in proof, a liſt of learned dignitaries; the very thought of the ſuppreſſion of Cathedrals had "ſtruck a damp into the bookſellers' buſineſs." The buildings themſelves were the moſt ancient monuments of Chriſtianity in the country. Many thouſands of perſons depended on theſe grand inſtitutions for their ſuſtenance. The Deans and Canons had been liberal landlords—the tenants affirmed this with conſentient voice. The Engliſh laity lived in plenty, why ſhould the clergy be made, like Jeroboam's prieſts, the "loweſt of the people?" The Papiſts would be delighted by the overthrow. And, above all, he warned his audience againſt the ſin of ſpoliation—"Thou that abhorreſt idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege?" Withdraw the encouragements of learning, and ignorance would reign: ignorance would carry us to profaneneſs and confuſion.

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* *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain*, viii. p. 207.

The ſpeech was eloquent and forcible, and "handſomely delivered," and had the queſtion been immediately put to the vote, it was thought that the Clergy would have had a majority of one hundred and twenty. In the afternoon, Dr. Cornelius Burges pleaded the cauſe of the Puritan party, and delivered a violent invective againſt the Deans and Chapters. If his ſpeech is rightly reported, he would have caſt out the clergy but retained the endowments. Dr. Burges' ſervices were not forgotten; in due time he ſwept into his purſe ſome of the money which was confiſcated.

Biſhop after Biſhop was impeached. It was ſeriouſly propoſed, though it muſt be added that the bill was thrown out, "that every biſhop, being in his dioceſe, and not diſabled by ill health, ſhould preach every Sunday, or pay five pounds to the poor, to be levied by the next juſtice of peace, and diſtreſs made by the conſtable."* So that the conſtable and the juſtice would have been the biſhop's metropolitans. Archbiſhop Williams, of York, is credited with this abſurdity.

On September 10th and 11th, 1642, a bill was paſſed for the abolition of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters:† and its effect was ſoon felt at S. Paul's. A letter from Stephen Charlton to Sir Richard Leveſon,‡ 25th October, 1642, ſpeaks of an "Order by Parliament yeſterday that Paul's ſhall be kept ſhut, and that all trades ſhall ſhut up their ſhops for a ſmall time, and all priſoners that are in Tower or Gate Houſe ſhall be kept cloſe priſoners."

A few days later, 1ſt November, 1642, the Dean and Chapter petition the Houſe of Lords upon the ſubject.§ "The Lord Mayor, alleging an Order in that behalf from their Lordſhips, has ſhut up the doors of the Church and taken the keys into his cuſtody; by which many well-affected perſons cannot enjoy the frequent uſe of prayer, and ſome cannot bury their deceaſed friends by their anceſtors as they deſire. They pray that the Church may be again opened for theſe purpoſes."

Even ſo late as 1660 the relations between the Cathedral and the City appear to have been of by no means a too friendly character. Mr. Edward Gower writing to Sir R. Leveſon ſays (the date of the letter is, probably, November 22nd), "This Lord Mayor of London is troubleſome to the Clergy of the old ſtamp. The Biſhop ſent to him that the Church might be fitted decently, and he would provide miniſters to preach there. His anſwer was, that he would make no proviſion for any of the ſinging-men, and when he ſaw the names of thoſe he [the Biſhop of London] intended for Preachers, if he liked them they ſhould have admittance."* The Biſhop was Gilbert Sheldon, who had been elected to the ſee of London 23rd October, and conſecrated at Weſtminſter on the 28th of the ſame month: and who on the death of Archbiſhop Juxon was tranſlated to Canterbury. The Lord Mayor was Sir Thomas Alleyne. His claim to reviſe the liſt of preachers appointed by the Biſhop ſeems ſufficiently prepoſterous.

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* Collier, viii. p. 214.

† Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, p. 109.

‡ Duke of Sutherland's MSS., *Hiſtorical MSS. Commiſſion*, v. p. 161, *a*.

§ Houſe of Lords' Calendar, *ibid.*, v. p. 56, *a*.

The high-handed dealing of Parliament with the Cathedrals ſoon made itſelf felt in the infliction of great ſuffering and diſtreſs upon the Clergy and upon the Officers attached to theſe time-honoured ſanctuaries. On Auguſt 9th, 1644, a Petition was preſented to the Lords and Commons by the Minor Canons, Vicars Choral, and other officers of S. Paul's. It ſtates that the Petitioners "having ſpent their days in the performance of the duties and offices of the Church, are unfit for other ways of procuring their livelihood, and, the rents and revenues of the Church being ſequeſtered, they are likely to be utterly impoveriſhed." They pray "that they may enjoy during their lives all the rents and dues which they formerly had from the Dean and Chapter." The Petition was referred to the Committee for Sequeſtrations.*

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* Duke of Sutherland's MSS., *Hiſtorical MSS. Commiſſion*, v. p. 200, *b*.

On April 26th, 1645, the workmen lately employed upon the repairs of S. Paul's ſend in *their* Petition. Divers ſums of money are due to them; they are ready to periſh for want. They pray that ſome ſcaffolding ſtuff and other materials belonging to the Church, "which, as the work goes not forward, will decay and be loſt, may be ſold for their benefit."† The workmen, naturally enough, were not ſlow to learn the leſſons of confiſcation and of ſacrilege.

At the end of the *Interregnum* only one Minor Canon, fully admitted as a Member of that ancient College, could be found; two others had been admitted as Probationers. When Dean Barwick undertook the "difficult charge" of the Deanery, his firſt care was "what it had alſo been at Durham, to reſtore the Celebration of Divine Service by the ſacred Muſic of a Choir." One minor Canon only remained at S. Paul's; and he, it would ſeem, muſt have been intruded into the office during Puritan times, for there was no evidence that he had ever been admitted into Prieſts' Orders, "which, yet by the Statutes, all the Canons of this Church were obliged to be." He proved to be a worthy diſciple of Dr. Burges, for he laid claim to the whole revenues of the College of the Minor Canons, and had bought at a nominal rate, during the Troubles, ſome of the ſequeſtered property of the College for his own uſe.*

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* Houſe of Lords' Calendar, *Hiſtorical MSS. Commiſſion*, vi. p. 22, *a*.

† *Ibid.*, vi. p. 56, *a*.

The trials and miſſortunes of the Cathedral Clergy are briefly related by John Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*:† the phraſes which he uſes in deſcribing the hardſhips endured by Bryan Walton, Prebendary of Twyford, "aſſaulted, ſequeſtered from his living, Plundered, Forced to fly, Barbarouſly uſed, grievouſly Harraſſed," will apply to many more. Walton was one of the moſt learned men of the day.‡ The Cathedral Library poſſeſſes a magnificent *Large Paper* copy of his *Polyglot Bible*, moſt ſumptuouſly bound, a worthy monument of his labours. But learning was out of faſhion. The greedy Cornelius Burges found favour, and Bryan Walton was ejected from S. Paul's.

On May 10th, 1645, Parliament paſſed an Ordinance§ enabling the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen to ſeize and ſequeſter into their hands all the Houſes, Rents, and Revenues, of the Dean, Canons, and other officers of S. Paul's Cathedral. Dr. Burges alſo receives his reward: the houſe in which the Dean had lived, the old Deanery, is aſſigned to him as a reſidence; he is appointed "publike Lecturer in the Church of Paul's, London" (it is *Saint* Paul's no longer); and "for his incouragement therein" there is granted to him the ſum of £400 per annum. Very good pickings, Dr. Burges! You were wiſe in ſuggeſting that the endowments ſhould not be alienated: wiſe, that is, in your generation. Profeſſor Brewer, in his notes to quaint old Fuller,* aims at you a ſhaft which pierces through your harneſs, when he ſays that you were "A railer againſt biſhops, afterwards a purchaſer of biſhop's lands." He was, in fact, ſo large a purchaſer of theſe lands that, a little before the Reſtoration, he was offered and declined to take £20,000 for what he had acquired. (What a convenient word "acquired" is!) After the Reſtoration he was compelled to diſgorge his plunder; he was reduced, he ſays, to want a piece of bread. He died in obſcurity in 1665, the anguiſh of his diſtreſs augmented by a terrible diſeaſe. Dr. Hacket's warnings were not in vain.

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* *Life of Dean Barwick*, 8vo., London, 1724, pp. 311-316.

† Folio, London, 1714, pp. 47-54.

‡ After the Reſtoration he was made Biſhop of Cheſter.

§ Dugdale, pp. 415-417.

On March 13th, 1640, three noble Lords were in a boat upon the Thames; Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, was in their company; they were on their way to dine with Lord Herbert at his new houſe at Fox Hall. As they were paſſing S. Paul's, the converſation naturally turned upon the commitment of Laud. One of the company ſaid, that he was ſorry for it, "becauſe the building of S. Paul's went ſlow on therewhile." Lord Brooke replied, "I hope ſome of us ſhall live to ſee no one ſtone left upon another of that building." A note of the occurrence is found in Laud's *Diary*. Two years afterwards, on March 2nd, 1642, Laud opens his Diary again, and this is his entry: "Thurſday, S. Cedd's day. The Lord Brooke ſhot in the left eye, and killed in the place, at Lichfield, going to give the onſet upon the Cloſe of the Church, he having ever been fierce againſt Biſhops and Cathedrals: his beaver up, and armed to the knees, ſo that a muſket at that diſtance could have done him but little harm. Thus was his eye put out, who about two years ſince ſaid, he hoped to live to ſee at S. Paul's not one ſtone left upon another."* The comment is Archbiſhop Laud's. The eloquent Dr. South makes very forcible uſe of the incident, and adds ſome details. He ſpeaks "of a commander in the parliament's rebel army, who, coming to rifle and deface the Cathedral at Lichfield, ſolemnly at the head of his troops begged of God to ſhow ſome remarkable token of His approbation or diſlike of the work they were going about. Immediately after which, looking out at a window, he was ſhot in the forehead by a deaf and dumb man. And this was on S. Chad's day, the name of which Saint that Church bore, being dedicated to God in memory of the ſame. Where we ſee, that as he aſked of God a ſign, ſo God gave him one, ſigning him in the forehead, and that with ſuch a mark as he is like to be known by to all poſterity. There is nothing that the united voice of all hiſtory proclaims ſo loud as the certain unfailing curſe that has purſued and overtook ſacrilege."†

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* *Church Hiſtory*, vi. pp. 188, 203, notes.

The Houſe of Commons was by no means inattentive to S. Paul's Cathedral. On January 2nd, 1642-3, they reſolve "that my Lord Petre's Houſe in Alderſgate Street, and the Dean of Paules his Houſe near Paules, ſhall be appointed Priſons to receive the Priſoners that are coming from Chicheſter, and," (ominous addition!) "ſuch other priſoners as the Houſes ſhall appoint: and that Mr. White be appointed Keeper of my Lord Peter's Houſe, and Mr. Dillingham, Keeper of the Dean of Paules his Houſe." The Deanery, in which ſuch men as Colet, Nowell, Overall, and Donne, had lived is turned into a Priſon.

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* *The Diary of the Life of Archbiſhop Laud*, Works, iii. pp. 241, 249.

† South, *Sermons*, edit., London 1859, i. p. 55.

In the Journal of the Houſe of Lords, 5th January, 1642-3, are three draft Orders directing that Lord Petre's houſe in Alderſgate, and the Biſhop of London's Palace near S. Paul's, and "Lambeth Houſe," ſhould be uſed as Priſons. Two days later we find in the records of the Houſe of Lords a *Liſt of the Priſoners in Lambeth Houſe.**

What remained of the treaſures of the Cathedral alſo engages the very earneſt attention of the Houſe. They reſolve on April 17th, 1644, "that the Cheſt, or Silver Veſſel, in Paul's, ſhall be ſold for the beſt advantage, and employed towards the providing of neceſſaries for the Train of Artillery, by the Committee at Grocers Hall." Seven days later, it is ordered, "that the materials informed of by Sir Robert Harley, be forthwith ſold by Sir Robert Harley, viz., the Mitre and Crozier-ſtaff found in Paul's Church London; and the braſs and iron in Hen. VII. Chapel in Weſtminſter; and the proceed thereof (the neceſſary charges deducted) be employed according to the direction of this Houſe."*

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* Houſe of Lords' Calendar, *Hiſtorical MSS. Commiſſion*, v. p. 67, *a.*

Were any of theſe treaſures ever reſtored? One or two, "rari nantes in gurgite vaſto," found their way back. The Calendars of State Papers (Chas. II., vol. 109) preſerve a Report by one Mr. Garret in 1664, "that Carey, late Verger of S. Paul's ſays that Alderman Pack of Blackwell Hall, or Mr. Jermyn the City Carpenter in Little Moorfields, can diſcover the Will of Hen. VII. with ſeals affixed in ſilver boxes; alſo a Chalice, Croſier-Staff and other things formerly belonging to S. Paul's, in which Warner a verger may aſſiſt." The (so called) Will of Henry VII., ſumptuouſly bound in velvet, with boſſes glowing with enamel, is now in the Cathedral Library: but the Chalice, and the Croſier-Staff, where are they?

The floodgates were opened and the waters rapidly ſpread. All repairs at the Cathedral ceaſed. It had been the deſire of Laud's heart to ſee it reſtored to its priſtine grandeur. Amongſt the "Things which I have projected to do, if God bleſs me in them," the Archbiſhop writes, fifth in order, "to ſet upon the repair of S. Paul's Church in London." All kinds of encroachments had been allowed about the Cathedral. A temporary houſe had been built up againſt the Weſt end of it for the purpoſes of a lottery: and after the lottery ended, was "finiſhed up into a dwelling houſe to the great annoyance of that church; the Biſhops, and Dean, and Chapter being aſleep while it was done." Laud boldly and reſolutely charges them with their ſupineneſs, and with increaſing their rents by a ſacrilegious revenue. His own love for the Cathedral ſhowed itſelf not merely in words but in liberal gifts. He was able to ſay at his trial, that his perſonal outlay upon S. Paul's had coſt him "above one thouſand and two hundred pounds" out of his own purſe. He remembered the work even in the time of his impriſonment, and left a legacy, "a bleſſing," as he phraſes it, "of £800," to be truly paid in for that work "if ever it go on while the party truſted with it lives."*

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* Dugdale, p. 110.

The works at the Cathedral were ſuſpended. Some part of the materials gathered together were given by Parliament in 1645 to the Pariſhioners of S. Gregory's to rebuild their Church, which had been pulled down becauſe it was thought to be an eyeſore to the Cathedral.† The vaſt ſcaffoldings which had been erected for the repair of the tower and the adjacent parts, were aſſigned to Colonel Jephſon's regiment, for £1746 15s. 8d. due thereunto from the ſaid Parliament, and in arrear. The *Calendars of State Papers* ſhow how intereſting were the queſtions which aroſe about theſe ſame ſcaffoldings.‡ Dugdale ſays that pits were dug in the Church itſelf, even where the bones of reverend biſhops lay, as ſawpits to cut up the great timbers.§ The body of the church was frequently converted into horſequarters for ſoldiers. Part of the Choir, the eaſtern part, was ſhut off by a partition wall, and made into a preaching place for Dr.

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* *Works of Archbiſhop Laud*, iii. p. 253; iv. pp. 92, 96.

† Dugdale, p. 110.

‡ See *Documents*, liii., liv.

§ Dugdale, p. 110.

Burges: an entrance being made to it, through the uppermoſt window on the north ſide, eaſtwards.

On December 18th, 1648, good John Evelyn makes this entry in his *Diary*,* "Since my laſt, ſoldiers have marched into the City. . . They have garriſoned Blackfriars (which likewiſe they have fortified with artillery); Paul's Church, which with London Houſe they have made ſtables for their horſes, making plentiful fires with the ſeats." It appears from Dugdale that the Choir Stalls and the Organ-loft were about this time totally deſtroyed.

The City authorities had neglected to pay their aſſeſſments to the army, wherefore General Fairfax ſent Colonel Dean with ſome troops into the City, on Friday, December 8th, 1648, to ſeize the treaſures of the Goldſmiths', Haberdaſhers', and Weavers' Companies. The two former Companies had removed their wealth, but at the Weavers' a rich booty of £35,000 was ſeized and carried off. The Lord Mayor was warned that the troops would be quartered upon the citizens till all the arrears were paid. "So for the preſent His Forces Quarter upon the Citizens, keeping ſtrong Guards in *London Houſe, Creed Church, Ludgate Church*, and all the *Gates* of the *City:* And that *ſacred Temple* dedicated to *S. Paul* and heretofore ſet apart and kept in all poſſible *decency* for the *ſervice* and *worſhip* of *God*, they have now converted into a moſt filthy *Stable*, and filled it with Hay and Horſes, &c., ſo that of a *Houſe of Prayer it is become a Den of Thieves*." So ſays the ſecretly printed Royaliſt paper the *Mercurius Eleuɑicus.*[*] A few weeks later,[†] a ſtill more ſuggeſtive paſſage occurs: "The Saints in *Pauls* were the laſt weeke teaching their Horſes to ride up the *great Steps*, that lead into the *Quire*, where (as they derided) they might perhaps learne to *Chaunt* an *Antheme:* but one of them fell, and broke both his *Leg* and the *Neck* of his Rider, which hath ſpoiled his *Chaunting*, for he was buried on *Saturday* night laſt. A juſt *Judgement* of God on ſuch a prophane and *Sacrilegious* wretch." One can hardly wonder at the writer's ſtrong language: he was contemporary, poſſibly an eye-witneſs, and in ſuch times men are not over-nice in their phraſes.

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* Evelyn, *Diary and Correſpondence*, iii. p. 33, edit. 1863.

In the *Rump Songs* are ſome references to theſe profanities. In a compoſition, it can hardly be called a poem, entitled *The Publique Faith*, the writer ſays:

> "*Paul's* ſhall be opened then, and you conſpire
> No more againſt the Organs in the Quire,
> Nor threat the Saints i' th' Windows, nor repair
> In Troops to kill the Book of Common Prayer:
> Nor drunk with Zeal, endeavour to engroſſe
> To your own uſe, the ſtones of Cheapſide Croſſe."

The ſame volume is eloquent as to the miſdeeds of Sir Iſaac Pennington the then Lord Mayor, and contains the following lampoon:

> "1643.
>
> *A Bill on St.* Paul's *Church Door.*
>
> This Houſe is to be let,
> It is both wide, and fair;
> If you would know the price of it,
> Pray aſk of M^r. Maior.
>
> *Iſaack Pennington.*"

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[*] No. 55, Dec. 12, 1648.

[†] No. 59, Jan. 9, 1649.

And a Ballad contained in the ſame volume, ſays:

> "Then S^{t.} *Paul's* the Mother-Church of this City and Nation,
> Was turn'd to a Stable, O ſtrange Profanation!
> Yet this was one of their beſt fruits of Reformation,
> Which no body can deny."

The work of deſecration continued; the ſtately Portico with its beautiful Corinthian pillars—a ſtructure fair and exquiſitely proportioned, though moſt inappropriately annexed to a Norman Nave—was "converted to ſhops for ſeamſtreſſes and other trades, with lofts and ſtairs aſcending thereto; for the fitting whereof to that purpoſe thoſe ſtately pillars were ſhamefully hewed and defaced for ſupport of the timber work."*

There is a ſtrange ſtory, hardly worth repetition, that Cromwell deſired and propoſed to ſell the uſeleſs building to the Jews. D'Bloſſiers Tovey, in his *Anglia Judaica*, ſtates very plainly that "as ſoon as *King Charles was murther'd*, the *Jews* Petition'd the *Council of War* to endeavour a Repeal of that Act of Parliament which had been made againſt them; promiſing, in Return, to make them a preſent of *five hundred thouſand Pounds:* Provided that they cou'd likewiſe procure the Cathedral of S^{t.} *Paul* to be aſſigned them for a *Synagogue*, and the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*, to begin their Traffick with. Which Piece of Service, it ſeems, was undertaken by thoſe *Honeſt Men*, at the Solicitation of *Hugh Peters*, and *Harry Marten*, whom the *Jews* employ'd as their Brokers: but without any ſucceſs."† Robert Monteith, of Salmonet,‡ adds ſome further details, ſtating that the Jews "offer'd five hundred thouſand Pounds, but the Council of War would have eight." Theſe ſtatements have a very circumſtantial air about them, and the mention of names and figures gives them the look of hiſtory: but a tolerably careful ſearch has failed to diſcover any corroborative evidence. There is, indeed, in the Record Office, a copy of a *Remonſtrance* addreſſed to Charles II., in which the writer ſays, that the Jews "(as countenanced by the ſaid late Uſurper), endeavoured in his time (as frequently it was reported) to buy the famous Cathedral Church of Pauls to have made y^m a Synagogue, as alſoe your moſt renowned Court of Whitehall for ſome Imployment."* But the *Remonſtrance* is anonymous, it is undated, and if nothing more can be ſaid for the ſtory than "as frequently it was reported," the fable had better be conſigned to the hiſtorian's waſte-paper baſket. If the Cathedral had ever been offered for ſale, very poſſibly ſome

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* Dugdale, p. 115.

† *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 259, 260.

‡ *Hiſtory of Great Britain*, folio, London, 1735, p. 473.

> "Jews from S. Mary Axe, for jobs ſo wary
> That for old clothes they'd even axe S. Mary,"†

might have been found amongſt the bidders; but it can hardly be ſaid by the moſt earneſt hater of Cromwell that there is a particle of real evidence in favour of the ſtory.

The ſoldiers lodged in the City were not, as we have already ſeen, always very eaſily managed. Carlyle, in his *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*‡ tells a charaсteriſtic ſtory, and tells it in his own inimitable faſhion. "This night," Thurſday, April 26th, 1649, "at the Bull in Biſhopſgate, there has an alarming mutiny broken out in a troop of Whalley's regiment there. Whalley's men are not allotted for Ireland; but they refuſe to quit London, as they are ordered; they want this and that firſt: they ſeize their Colours from the Cornet, who is lodged at the Bull there:—the General and the Lieutenant-General have to haſten thither; quell them, pack them forth on their march; ſeizing fifteen of them firſt, to be tried by Court-Martial. Tried by inſtant Court-Martial, five of them are found guilty, doomed to die, but pardoned; and one of them, Trooper Lockyer, is doomed and not pardoned. Trooper Lockyer is ſhot, in Paul's Churchyard, on the morrow. A very brave young man, they ſay; though but three-and-twenty, 'he has ſerved ſeven years in theſe Wars,' ever ſince the wars began. 'Religious' too, 'of excellent parts and much beloved;' but with hot notions as to human Freedom, and the rate at which the Milleniums are attainable, poor Lockyer! He falls ſhot in Paul's Churchyard on Friday, amid the tears of men and women. Paul's Cathedral, we remark, is now a Horſe-guard; horſes ſtamp in the Canons' ſtalls there: and Paul's Croſs itſelf, as ſmacking of Popery, where in faсt Alablaſter once preached flat Popery, is ſwept altogether away, and its leaden roof melted into bullets, or mixed with tin for culinary pewter. Lockyer's corpſe is watched and wept over, not without prayer, in the eaſtern regions of the City, till a new week come." His funeral takes place on Monday.

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* See *Documents*, pp. lxiii., lxiv.

† The *Rejected Addreſſes*.

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 121, 122, five volume edition.

On May 30th, 1649, ſays Evelyn,* "Unkingſhip was proclaimed, and his Majeſty's ſtatues thrown down at S. Paul's Portico and the Exchange."

We ſoon hear again of the ſoldiers quartered in S. Paul's Churchyard, for in May, 1651, a Proclamation was iſſued to regulate their conduct. As it is very brief and at the ſame time inſtructive, it may well be tranſcribed *in extenſo.*

"May 27, 1651.

"For as much as the Inhabitants of Paul's Churchyard are much diſturbed by the ſouldiers and others, calling out to paſſingers, and examining them (though they goe peaceably and civilly along) and by playing at nine pinnes at unſeaſonable houres; theſe are therefore to command all Souldeirs and others whom it may concerne, that hereafter there ſhall be no examining and calling out to perſons that go peaceably on their way, unleſse they doe approach their Gaurds, and likewiſe to forbeare playing at nine pinnes and other ſports, from the houre of nine of the clocke in the evening, till ſix in the morning, that ſo perſons that are weake and indiſpoſed to reſt, may not be diſturbed. Given under our hands the day and yeare above written.

"*John Barkeſtead,*
"*Benjamin Blundill.*"

The original of this Proclamation is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.† The reader may obtain from it a glimpſe of the liberty which the "Inhabitants of Paul's Churchyard" were at this time enjoying. Turbulent and ill-diſciplined ſoldiers purſued their ſports and paſtimes under the venerable walls of the Cathedral, and alarmed peaceable citizens by their rude challenges and examinations.

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* *Diary*, ii. p. 5.

† *Documents*, p. 150.

In 1653, on June 18th, the Council of State made an Order, upon the reading of the Petition of Captain Chillendon, "That the Chappell, on the Eaſt ſide of the North end of Pauls commonly called the Stone Chappell," (the proper name was S. George's Chapel, but S. George was out of faſhion, and England was no longer merry) "be allowed to the congregation whereof Captaine Chillendon is a Member, wherein they are to meet without interruption for the exerciſeing of religious duties."* This appropriation, however, of one of the Chapels did not paſs unchallenged. On Sunday, October 16th, a tumult "hapned in Pauls, upon occaſion of the meeting of a congregation in the Stone Chappell in the ſaid Church and their exerciſeing there." Colonel Mountagu, Colonel Bennet, and Mr. Broughton, or any two of them, are appointed a Committee to enquire into this matter; and particularly to examine what was the "Carriage of the Officers of the City," as well as of the congregation and of thoſe who made the tumult. The latter were to be committed to the cuſtody of my Lord Mayor.†

Dr. Burges being ſettled in the eaſtern part of the Choir, and Captain Chillendon's congregation being quartered in S. George's Chapel, it might have been thought that the dominant party would have reſted ſatiſfied. More was, however, to be done. The Council of State met on Thurſday, September 24th, 1657. "His Highneſs" himſelf is preſent, with General "Diſbrowe," and others. There is another congregation, "whereof Mr. John Simpſon is Teacher," and theſe have no "local habitation." No place will ſuit them but S. Paul's. There is a piece of waſte ground at the Weſt end of Paul's now veſted in the Truſtees for Biſhops' lands: it is ordered that Colonel Webb, Surveyor-General for the ſaid Lands, do cauſe the ſaid ground, "or any other place of Pawles fitt" for ſuch a uſe, to be "forthwith ſurveyed, and the Survey thereof to bee returned to the Councell." Colonel Webb ſends in a Report on November 12th. He does not recommend the uſe of the waſte ground at the Weſt end of Paul's; but "upon perruſall of ſeverall unoccupied places about Pawles," he has ſeen the "parcell of grownd whereon yet ſtandeth the Ruines of the Howſe commonly called the Convocation howſe, and of The Cloyſters thereto adjoyning." He thinks that this is the "moſt privateſt and convenienteſt place to bee fitted and ſet apart to the uſe aforeſayd." The Chapter Houſe, fair and beautiful as it once was, had not been rebuilt ſince the deſtructive fire of 1561. The roof and floor had fallen to the ground, the windows were broken, "the iron and leade imbeziled," the whole building "exceeding ruinous and very dangerous." This is the place for the "Congregation that wallke with Mr. John Symſon." Colonel Webb ſupplies a plan of the Cloiſters and Chapter Houſe.* The Council of State are of the ſame opinion, and a Committee is appointed to ſee that the matter be carried to an end.

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* *Documents*, p. 151.

† *Ibid.*, p. 152.

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* *Documents*, pp. 153-155, where a copy of the Plan may be ſeen.

The Chapter Houſe and the Upper and Lower Cloiſters had been allowed to become receptacles for building materials. Boards of elm and deal, wainſcot, fir poles, large quantities of lead and iron, thouſands of quarries of glaſs, were ſtored here in 1644:* as an original paper in the Dyce and Forſter Reading Room at the South Kenſington Muſeum, containing an Inventory of theſe materials, abundantly proves.

The words of worthy Thomas Fuller, written probably about the year 1662, ſhould be ſtudied by all who would underſtand the wretched condition to which the once ſtately Church of S. Paul had been reduced:

"This is the only Cathedral in Chriſtendom dedicated ſolely to that ſaint. Great the pillars (little legs will bow under ſo big a body), and ſmall the windows thereof: darkneſs in thoſe days being conceived to raiſe devotion; beſides, it made artificial lights to appear with the more ſolemnity. It may be called the Mother Church indeed, having one babe in her body, S. Faith's, and another in her arms, S. Gregory's. Surely ſuch who repair to divine ſervice in S. Faith may there be well minded of their mortality, being living people, ſurrounded with the antiperiſtaſis of the dead both above and beneath them. For the preſent I behold S. Paul's Church as one ſtruck with the dead palſy on one ſide, the eaſt part and quoir thereof being quick and alive, well maintained and repaired, whilſt the weſt part is ruinous and ready to fall down. Little hopes it will be repaired in its old decays, which is decayed in its new reparations, and being formerly an ornament, is now an eye ſore to the city: not to ſay unto the citizens in general, ſome being offended that it is in ſo bad, and others that it is in no worſe, condition.

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* *Documents*, pp. 142-145.

"The repairing of this church was a worthy monument of the piety and charity of Archbiſhop Laud; not only procuring the bounty of others, but expending his own eſtate thereon. We deſpair not but that his majeſty's zeal, in commending this work to their care, will in due time meet with the forward bounty of the citizens. It is no ſin to wiſh, that thoſe who have plundered the cloak and cover of S. Paul's (not left behind *by*, but) violently taken *from* him, might be compelled to make him a new one of their own coſt; at leaſtwiſe to contribute more than ordinary proportions thereunto." * We may echo Dryden's words, when ſpeaking of the diſaſtrous fire of 1666, he ſays:

"The daring flames peep'd in, and ſaw from far
The awful beauties of the ſacred Quire:
But ſince it was profaned by Civil War,
Heaven thought it fit to have it purged by Fire." †

It cannot be denied, however ſad may be the confeſſion, that the appointed guardians of the Cathedral had, long before Cromwell's days, grievouſly neglected their ſacred truſt. The Manuſcript Returns at Biſhop Bancroft's Viſitation in 1598,* ſtill preſerved in the Cathedral Record Room, are very melancholy reading. The ſervices were, in all probability, ſaid at the appointed times, but the evidences of neglect and careleſſneſs are everywhere viſible. The Choriſters ſpent their time in talk and in hunting after ſpur-money, even in ſervice time; "the hallowinge and hootinge above in the ſteple is intollorable at dyvers tymes;" people walked about in the upper Choir, where the Communion Table doth ſtand, with their hats on their heads, commonly, all the ſervice time, no man reproving them; the Organs were ſo miſuſed in the blowing, and other ways with jogging the bellows, that the bellows were broken; S. Dunſtan's Chapel was made a ſtorehouſe for glaſs, and the glaſs was brought in even during ſervice time; the wheels of cars ſet againſt the ſteps of the South door had ſo broken the ſteps "that manye men and women have had ſhrewde fawles dyvers tymes;" the ſweepings of the church lay in it three and four weeks together till the ſmell became "very noyſom;" the bell-ringers admitted perſons into the Organ-loft for money, to the decay of the inſtrument, the pipes being many of them under foot, to the hazarding of the people underneath; the choir men came late to prayers, "which cauſeth the ſervice to continue beyonde his howre, or maketh them vnreverently to knitt yt vp;" they were irreverent in their behaviour, and did "vſe greate vndecencye in prayer time, as leaninge vpon theyr elbowes, ſleepinge, talkinge, and ſuch lyke to the ſcandale of the Church;" the Chapels below the ſteps were much unglazed; in S. George's Chapel lay old ſtones and a ladder; in Long Chapel old fir poles and other old lumber; vaults under the Church were let to a Carpenter, others to ſtationers; houſes and ſhops blocked up the windows of ſome of the Chapels; the Shrouds, and Cloiſters under the Convocation Houſe were let out to Trunk Makers, and "by meanes of their daily knocking and noyſe the Church is greatly diſturbed;" certain Tenants had excavated the very buttreſſes of the Church "whereby the foundation is greatly indaungered by making of cellers." It is a long and weariſome indictment: long as it is, it might eaſily be extended. Would that it were not ſo. But let the reader ponder well the following notices of Saliſbury, Worceſter, and Canterbury.

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* Fuller, *Worthies of England*, vol. ii. pp. 335, 336, edit. 8vo., London, 1840.

† Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, verſe 276.

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* A ſelection from theſe will be found in the *Statuta S. Pauli*, pp. 272-280.

In *A Remembrance for the Church of Sarum in very many and neceſſary particulars* appended to the papers relating to Archbiſhop Laud's Viſitation, is a very ſad picture of the negligent attendance at the Cathedral Services which had grown up, apparently unchecked:

"Of 760 canonicall howers *per ann:*, they are not 60 in the Church; of theſe 60, not 30 at ſecond leſſon; of theſe 30, not 10 at the confeſſion, no not at communions. For this, though wee have expreſſe ſtatute agaynſt it, and pænaltye, yett wee plead cuſtome, and challenge and receyve commons. According to this neglect, our quyre and church ſeruice is vtterly deſtitute and naked of all cathedral ornaments, I might ſay robbed, for about 40 yeares agone, they were ſolde and ſowly."

What wonder if the laity cared little for the Cathedral Services, if the Clergy at Saliſbury were ſo remiſs in attending, and ſo ſlovenly and idle when they did attend. No marvel that a day of ſharp retribution came. Laud did what man could do to revive the dying embers of religion.*

Dr. Chriſtopher Potter, writing to Archbiſhop Laud, 18th November, 1639, thus deſcribes the condition of affairs at Worceſter:

"On Sunday mornings, before Sermon, during the Choral Service, ſome walked and talked in the Nave, others gathered their auditors about them in the ſeats and read to them ſome Engliſh divinity, ſo loudly as that the ſingers in the Choir were much diſturbed by them: all deſpiſing that ſervice."†

In 1634, the like account is ſent to Archbiſhop Laud from Canterbury:

"Men both of yᵉ better & meaner ſort, mechanicks, youths, & prentiſes do ordinarily & moſt vnreverently walk in our church in yᵉ tyme of devine ſervice, & wᵗʰin hearinge of yᵉ ſame, wᵗʰ their hattes on their heads. I haue ſeene them from my ſeate (& not ſeldome) ſo walkinge or ſtandinge ſtill, & lookinge in vpon vs, when we haue byn on our knees, at yᵉ Letany

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* *Hiſtorical MSS. Commiſſion, Fourth Report*, p. 131.

† *Calendars, Domeſtic*, 1639-40, p. 106, edited by Mr. W. D. Hamilton.

& y^{e} com̃andm̃^{ts}. I earneſtly & humbly deſire ſome effectuall courſe may [be] taken for redreſſe. As alſo for y^{e} ordinarie trudginge vp & downe of youths, & clamours of children, to y^{e} greate diſturbance of y^{e} preachers in their ſermons. The vergerers & other officers haue had a charge to look to this; but to little or no purpoſe. D^{r}. Barſton, D^{r}. Hinchman, & myſelf haue byn fayne to ryſe, & goe out of our ſeates to ſee & ſtay y^{e} diſorders. But I never (to my vttermoſt remembrance) ſawe Barfoot y^{e} vergerer (who ſits in my ſight) to ryſe at y^{e} greateſt noyſe.

"By mee, John Lee."*

Alas, we need not end even here. Many another grand Cathedral had the ſame ſad tale to tell: the ſame weariſome ſtory of pluralities and non-reſidence; of overwhelming greedineſs and ſelf-ſeeking; of rampant nepotiſm; of deſecrated Naves, and of deſerted Choirs; of dignitaries receiving great revenues, and rendering no ſervice in return; of cold hearts. The way was paved for ſtill greater deſecrations, and they came. Horſes neighed in the Canons' Stalls: and Dr. Cornelius Burges, with his twenty thouſand pounds of plunder, preached in the ruined Choir.

We may not conclude with words of ſadneſs. Nor is there need. The renewed life of Cathedrals is one of the moſt ſtriking features of the great Religious

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* *Houſe of Lords' Calendar, Hiſtorical MSS. Commiſſion*, vol. iv. p. 135 b.

Revival of our day. S. Paul's has abundantly ſhared in that regeneration. Let the largely attended daily ſervices, the crowded Sunday ſervices, the daily celebration of the Holy Euchariſt, be witneſſes of the throbbing life that beats in the great heart of the old Sanctuary. And let the reverent thouſands gathered in its vaſt dome area, its long-drawn Nave, its ſpacious Tranſepts, filling every part, ſilent, liſtening eagerly laſt Dedication Feſtival to the grand muſic of Mendelſſohn's *S. Paul*, remind us that the Cathedral is ſomething more than a "petrifaction of religion."

May God proſper its work a thouſand fold!

NOTES.

NOTES.

Note to Page 21.

The original words of the *ſequence* here rendered into Engliſh, are theſe :

> Erkenwalde, Chriſti lampas aurea,
> Tua ſancta prece noſtra dele facinora,
> Quatenus te collodantes ſtellata
> Gratulari tecum poſcimus in palacia,
> Ubi nova Domino reboantes cantica
> Conſona voce jubilemus Alleluja.

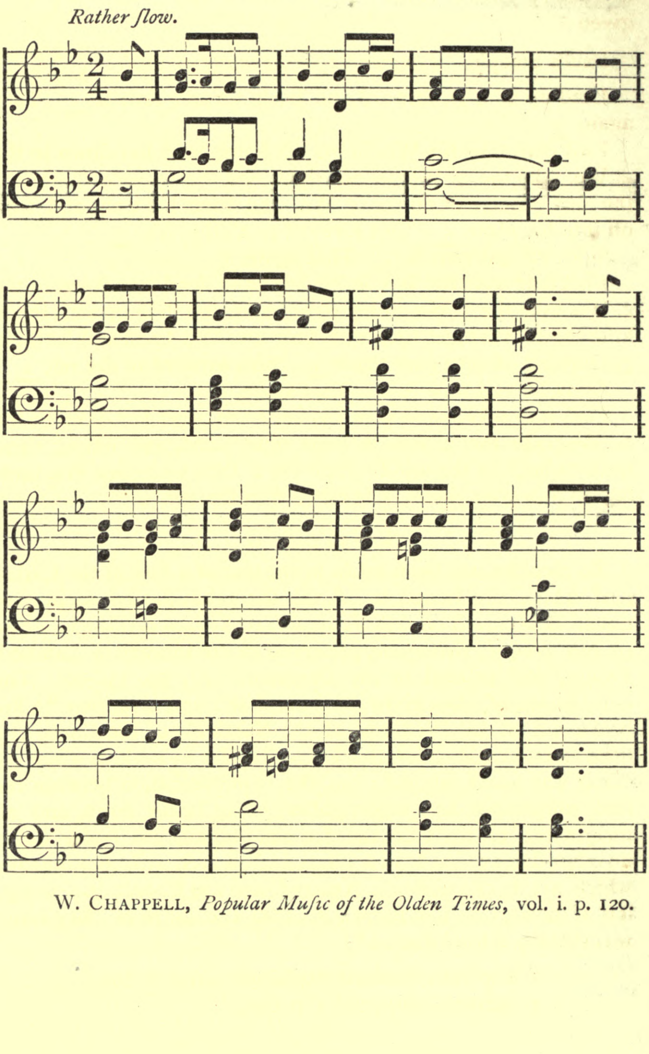
Note to page 116.

In a Report by Inigo Jones upon the repairs of S. Gregory's Church, which adjoined S. Paul's, he ſays that the Church is "in no way hurtful to the foundation or walls of S. Paul's, nor will it take away the beauty of the aſpect when it ſhall be repaired. It abuts on the Lollards' Tower, which is anſwered on the other ſide by another Tower unto which the Biſhop's Hall adjoins. Conceives that neither of them is any hindrance to the beauty of the Church." The Report is dated 14th June, 1631. (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 193.) This paſſage would ſeem to indicate that Inigo Jones would not be likely to make any great alterations in the Towers.

Note to page 142.

By Mr. Chappell's kind permiſſion, I am able to preſent to my readers the tune called *Paul's Steeple* in modern notation. It is here reprinted from his moſt intereſting work, *Popular Muſic of the Olden Times*, vol. i. p. 120. The Iriſh *Cruiſkeen Lawn*, and the Scotch *John Anderſon my Jo*, are modifications of this ancient Engliſh tune.

PAUL'S STEEPLE.


Rather ſlow.

W. CHAPPELL, *Popular Muſic of the Olden Times*, vol. i. p. 120.

In a ſcarce book called *The Dancing Maſter*, "printed for John Playford at his ſhop in the Inner Temple, near the Church Door," in 1652, we find that the tune *Paul's Steeple* was uſed as a Country Dance Tune. The figures of the Dance are here given :*

Paul's Steeple. *Longwayes for as many as will.* ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ☽ ☽ ☽ ☽

Lead up all a D. forward and back, ſet and turn S. . That again :

Firſt man take his Wo. in his left hand, lead her down to the 2. Wo. take the 2. Wo. in his right, and ſlip up with them into the firſt place, caſt off the 2. Wo. and then his own, and turn off into his place . This forward to all the We. :

Sides all and turn S. . That again :

Firſt man take his Wo. in his left hand, lead her down to the 2. Wo. take the 2. Wo. in his right hand, and ſlide up with them, kiſſe the 2. Wo. hand then with your own Wo. hand and let them go, turning off into your place . This forward to the reſt :

Arms, ſet and turn S. . That again :

Firſt man take his Wo. in his left hand, lead her down to the 2. Wo. take the 2. Wo. in your right hand, and ſetting them back to back in the middle, kiſſe the 2. then your own Wo. turning off into your places, this forward to the reſt.

Note to page 145.

No mention has been made in the text of a Fire in the Cathedral which threatened to aſſume ſomewhat dangerous proportions. It occurred on 27th February, 1698-99, according to a rare (if not unique) *Broadſide*, preſerved in the Library of Lambeth Palace, and printed in my *Documents etc.*, pp. 158-60. The continuator of *Stow* gives the ſame date : and ſays, that "a fire broke out at the Weſt end of the North iſle of the Choir, in a little room prepared for the Organ-builder to work in when the Choir was newly finiſhed ; but, the communication between the ſaid work-room and organ-gallery being broke down, and all imaginable means uſed, the fire was happily got under, doing no other damage but to two pillars and an arch with enrichments, which are very artificially repaired, and the Church has no ſign left of damage by that fire, except that the luſtre of the gilding was thereby a little abated."†

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* The ſigns used are explained *infra*, p. 294.

† Strype's *Stow*, vol. i. p. 649.

There is a ſomewhat important manuſcript in the Library at Lambeth,* which dates this fire exactly ten years earlier. The Book is entitled "An Acco^{t}. of Rebuilding the Cathedral Church of S^{t}. Paul's, London, from Sept. 1666 (when the Old Church was deſtroyed by the dreadful fire) to 29th Sept^{r}., 1700." I am not aware that the following details have ever been printed :

"Note, No. 98. That fire happen'd 27 Feb. 168$\frac{8}{9}$ and ſuppoſed to be by the careleſſneſs of ...† Smith the Organ-maker.

"To the Charge of the repair ſpecified may be added the Scaffolding for it, & the wages to Labourers employ'd about it, but both theſe being intermixt with other matters, a computation cannot well be made.

"Repairing y^{e} damage by y^{e} fire, which happen'd at y^{e} Weſt end of y^{e} North Iſle of y^{e} Choir.

Gratuitys to Sev^{ll}. perſons who aſſiſted to extinguiſh the fire	11	15	6			
Links, Candles, repairing borrowed Buckets, & expences in drink .	6	6	8			
Wine	2	1	6			
				20	3	8
Maſon Rawlin						
For cutting out burnt ſtone . . .	19	7	6			
New work by day	44	8	9			
D° by agreem^{t} including the Carving	599	6	9			
				663	3	0
2 Tuns of Plaſter of Paris. . . .	5	7	6			
Sundry Carpenters, Maſons, and Labourers	9	14	6			
Iron Cramps	12	4	0¼			
				27	6	0¼
				710	12	8¼"

It is clear from theſe figures that the damage done by the fire was by no means inconſiderable. If we are to chooſe between the date given by Bateman's manuſcript, and that given by

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* *Lambeth Manuſcripts*, No. 670.

† That is, of Bernard Smith, uſually called Father Smith.

Strype's *Stow* and the *Broadſide* and in Elmes' *Life of Wren*, I incline towards the latter three authorities. They agree in ſtating that the fire occurred on 27th February, 1698-99.

Note to page 152.

John Chamberlain, in one of his Letters to Dudley Carleton, gives a ſomewhat late example of penance at the Cathedral, under the date 12th February, 1612:

"Moll Cutpurſe, a notorious beggar, has done penance in S. Paul's." (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 68.)

In another letter, to the ſame perſon, he ſays:

"Some books of Suarez, the Jeſuit, derogatory to Princes, burnt at Paul's Croſs." (*Ibid.*, vol. 75.)

And again, under date 27th July, 1620, he writes:

"Popiſh books containing libels on Queen Elizabeth and her government, burnt in S. Paul's Churchyard." (*Ibid.*, vol. 116.)

In the *Letters of Lord George Carew* is a ſtill more remarkable inſtance of penance. He is writing in November, 1617:

"The 30 day of this monethe, the Ladye Markham, wyfe to Sir Griffithe Markham (who yett lives), for maryenge one of her ſervants, together with her late huſband, did pennance in white ſheets at Pawles croſſe; the like they muſt do at Yorke and ellſwhere, and are fyned in 1000 *li.* How they eſcaped deathe (as the ſtatute lately made[*] for that offence providethe) I cannott well deliver, and yett they were arraygned for itt vppon thatt ſtatute." (*Letters*, etc., p. 132.)

Note to page 159.

In Wilkinſon's *Londina Illuſtrata* is a view of Paul's Croſs "from an original Drawing in the Pepyſian Library, Cambridge." I have not ſeen the original drawing, and, in the abſence of any definite information about it in Wilkinſon, I addreſſed a letter to F. Pattrick, Eſq., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, aſking ſeveral queſtions as to its authorſhip and date. In the very courteous reply which Mr. Pattrick was ſo good as to ſend me, he ſays that the engraving in the *Londina Illuſtrata* appears to be a fac-ſimile of the Drawing; that there is no ſufficient evidence as to the perſon by whom or the period at which the Drawing was executed; and that no account of the

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[*] 1 Jac. I. cap. 11.

Croſs accompanies the Drawing. All that appears to be known about it is that it forms part of the ſeries of Drawings and Engravings gathered together by Samuel Pepys. "Pepys was the firſt perſon to collect prints and drawings in illuſtration of London topography. Theſe he left to his nephew, who added to the collection, and two thick volumes therefore came to the College with the other treaſures." (Wheatley's *Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in*, p. 92.)

Note to page 216.

Very various indeed were the ſubjects treated of in the ſermons of the times. "The Biſhop of London," ſays Chamberlain, "told his Clergy that the King had ordered them to inveigh vehemently in their ſermons againſt women wearing broad-brimmed hats, pointed doublets, ſhort hair, and even ſome of them poinards : and if pulpit admonition fail, another courſe will be taken." (Chamberlain to Carleton, 25th January 1620. *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 112.)

Note to page 217.

An intereſting account of the removal of the images from S. Paul's Cathedral is found in Wriotheſley's *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 1 :

"The ſixtenth daie of Nouember [1547] the Kinges Maieſties viſitors beganne that night to take downe the roode with all the images in Poules Church, which were clene taken awaie, and by negligence of the laborers certaine perſons were hurt and one ſlaine in the falling downe of the great croſſe in the rode loft, which the papiſh prieſtes ſaid was the will of God for the pulling downe of the ſaid idolls. Likwiſe all images in euerie pariſh church in London were pulled downe and broken by the commandment of the ſaid viſitors.

"The xxvii^th^ daie of November, being the firſt Soundaie of Aduent, preched at Poules Croſſe, Doctor Barlowe, Biſhopp of Sainct Davides, where he ſhewed a picture of the reſurrection of our Lord made with vices [moveable joints], which putt out his legges of ſepulchree and bleſſed with his hand, and turned his heade ; and their ſtoode afore the pilpitt the imag of Our Ladie which they of Poules had lapped in ſeerecloth, which was hid in a corner of Poules Church, and found by the viſitors in their viſitation. And in his ſermon he declared the great abhomination of idolatrie in images, with other fayned ceremonies contrarie to ſcripture, to the extolling of Godes glorie, and to the great compfort of the awdience. After the ſermon the boyes brooke the idolls in peaces."

A little later, in May, 1548, Wriotheſley records, that "Poules quire with diuers other pariſhes in London ſong all the ſervice in Engliſh, both mattens, maſſe, and even-ſonge; and kept no maſſe, without ſome receaued the communion with the prieſt."

It is eaſy to underſtand that the exhibition of theſe mechanical figures, ſkilfully contrived to deceive the worſhippers, muſt have greatly ſtimulated the zeal of the Reformers.

Note to page 229.

The following extracts from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons* throw light upon two points of no little intereſt: for they indicate (in the words "until that Place be prepared and fitted for that Purpoſe") that, at the date of the Order, Paul's Croſs was no longer ſtanding; and they ſhow the origin of the claim of the Lord Mayor to appoint Preachers at the Croſs.

12th May, 1643.

Ordered, That Mr. Vaſſall and Mr. Ven do bring in an Ordinance to enable the Lord Mayor to appoint Preachers to preach the Sermons, given by the Charity of well-diſpoſed People, at Paul's Croſs, or elſewhere.

26th May, 1643.

Preacher in Paul's Church Yard.

Ordered, That the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London ſhall have power and Authority to nominate and appoint ſuch Miniſters, as ſhall hereafter preach in Paul's Church Yard upon the Lord's Day weekly; and that, in the Interim, until that Place be prepared and fitted for that Purpoſe, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen may appoint ſuch convenient Place for ſuch Miniſters to Preach, every Lord's Day weekly, before them, as they ſhall think convenient: And likewiſe, that the Lord Mayor, for the time, may diſpoſe of the Allowance formerly given to the Preachers at Paul's, upon ſuch Miniſters as ſhall be ſo appointed to preach before the ſaid Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at the Place by them to be aſſigned, as aforeſaid: Which Diſpoſition and Appointment ſhall not be accounted or reputed any Breach or Violation of the Gifts or Deviſes of any Donor, or Perſon deceaſed; notwithſtanding any former Uſage, Appointment, or Deviſe of any Biſhop's, Donor's, or otherwiſe, to the contrary.

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* For which I am indebted to the courteſy of the Librarian, George Howard, Eſq.

Note to page 231.

The *Charge Books* of the Cathedral, a long and very important ſeries of volumes, extending from 1633 to 1749, contain much valuable information as to the coſt of labour and the price of material. At the period indicated in the text, 1635, the following are ſome of the amounts paid for wages and material:

		s.	d.	
16 Labourers	received	1	2	a day each.
1 Labourer	„	1	4	„
6 Carpenters	„	2	0	„
2 Apprentices	„	1	10	„
6 Maſons	„	2	0	„
1 Apprentice	„	1	6	„
3 Bricklayers	„	2	0	„
1 Plumber	„	2	6	„

Stone Sawyers 1½d. the inch; and for Burford and Ketton Stone 1d. the foot.
Fir Timber, 32s. and 33s. the load.
Bricks, 12s. the thouſand.
Tiles, 2s. for a hundred and a quarter.
Lead, £12 4s. 6d. the fother.

Note to page 240.

Another paſſage from Chamberlain's *Letters* may well be added to thoſe printed in the text.

19th November, 1602. "My laſt to you was of the fourth or fift of this preſent, ſince which time here hath ben a very dull and dead terme, or els I am quite out of the trade, which may well be, by reaſon of a new deviſed order to ſhut the upper doores in Powles in ſervice time, wherby the old entercourſe is cleane chaunged, and the trafficke of newes much decayed." (p. 162.)

From this letter it clearly appears that even during Divine Service the din of chattering tongues was ſtill to be heard.

Note to page 265.

The manuſcript called in the text the *Will of Henry VII.* is in reality the "Book of Penalties for non-performance of the Covenants in the Indentures between Henry VII. and the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and others." It is ſumptuouſly bound in crimſon velvet; and the ſeals, encloſed in ſilver ſkippets, hanging by cords of purple and crimſon ſilk and gold, are appended to it. Each ſkippet bears on its cover a gilt roundel with the name of the party whoſe ſeal is encloſed inſcribed in finely punctured letters. The covers are decorated with ſilver boſſes and claſps. "The firſt page is illuminated, red roſes on gold, and portculliſes on an azure field, being richly embroidered on the margin with the royal arms and ſupporters. In the initial letter is a miniature of Henry VII. enthroned. Before him kneel ten perſons, the two prelates in front veſted in ſcarlet copes. The Archbiſhop (Warham) holds a croſs-ſtaff in one hand, in the other the Book of Penalties in its crimſon forel. Behind theſe appear, amongſt others, the Abbot and monks of Weſtminſter; the Mayor of London, alſo, in a ſcarlet gown, furred, holding a ſceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis." The Indenture is ſeptipartite, and was made 16th July, 1504. The parties to it are the King; the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Biſhop of Wincheſter; John Iſlippe, Abbot of Weſtminſter, and the Prior and Convent of the ſame place: the Dean and Canons of S. Stephen's, Weſtminſter; the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's; and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London.

The manuſcript in the Cathedral Library is one of the counterparts of this document: a ſimilar copy is in the Britiſh Muſeum, and the original is in the Record Office. The colours and gold of the illuminations of the S. Paul's MS. are in perfect preſervation, and the binding is remarkably beautiful.

The above notice is condenſed from a full account of theſe manuſcripts in *The Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. pp. 182, 278, 279.

Note to page 287.

The myſterious ſymbols uſed by Playford in his *Dancing Maſter* are thus explained by himſelf:

☽ = Man. ⊙ = Woman.
Wo. = Woman. We. = Women.
$\underline{\cdot}$ = a ſtrain played once.
$\underline{:}$ = a ſtrain played twice.
S. = a ſingle, that is, two ſteps, cloſing both feet.
D. = a double, that is, four ſteps forward or back, cloſing both feet.

Note upon the manuſcript from which a *fac-ſimile* is given at page 49.

The manuſcript from which our *fac-ſimile* is taken is a fine folio volume, "written on very ſtout vellum, in double columns, 44 lines to the page." It was "no doubt an original poſſeſſion of the author, and muſt by him have been left among the archives of his Cathedral. It was there when Edward I. examined the treaſures of the Cathedrals." Probably, it was tranſferred from S. Paul's to Lambeth ſoon after the Reformation. "It formed a part of the Archiepiſcopal Library, when it was removed to Cambridge during the troubles of the Commonwealth, and was reſtored at the Reſtoration." (Profeſſor Stubbs' *Hiſtorical Works of Ralph de Diceto*, vol. i. pp. lxxxviii-xc.) In Lambeth Library the volume ſtill remains, notwithſtanding the inſcription which it contains in very clear, legible writing:

LIBER EC̄CLIE SANCTI PAULI LONDON.

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